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SPECIAL REPORTS ON THE PHILIPPINES

TO THE PRESIDENT

By

WM. H. TAFT, Secretary of War

January 23, 1908

and

J. M. DICKINSON, Secretary of War

November 23, 1910



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WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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WAR, TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE PHILIP-
PINES, JANUARY 23, 1908.

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To the Senate and House of Representatives:

I transmit herewith the report of Secretary Taft upon his recent trip to the Philippines. I heartily concur in the recommendations he makes, and I call especial attention to the admirable work of Gov. Smith and his associates. It is a subject for just national gratification that such a report as this can be made. No great civilized power has ever managed with such wisdom and disinterestedness the affairs of a people committed by the accident of war to its hands. If we had followed the advice of the misguided persons who wished us to turn the islands loose and let them suffer whatever fate might befall them, they would have already passed through a period of complete and bloody chaos, and would now undoubtedly be the possession of some other power which there is every reason to believe would not have done as we have done; that is, would not have striven to teach them how to govern themselves or to have developed them, as we have developed them, primarily in their own interests. Save only our attitude toward Cuba, I question whether there is a brighter page in the annals of international dealing between the strong and the weak than the page which tells of our doings in the Philippines. I call especial attention to the admirably clear showing made by Secretary Taft of the fact that it would have been equally ruinous if we had yielded to the desires of those who wished us to go faster in the direction of giving the Filipinos self-government, and if we had followed the policy advocated by others, who desired us simply to rule the islands without any thought at all of fitting them for self-government. The islanders have made real advances in a hopeful direction, and they have opened well with the new Philippine Assembly: they have yet a long way to travel before they will be fit for complete self-government, and for deciding, as it will then be their duty to do, whether this self-government shall be accompanied by complete independence. It will probably be a generation, it may even be longer, before this point is reached; but it is most gratifying that such substantial progress toward this as a goal has already been accomplished. We desire that it be reached at as early a date as possible for the sake of the Filipinos and for our own sake. But improperly to endeavor to hurry the time will probably mean that the goal will not be attained at all.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
January 27, 1908.

SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., January 23, 1908.

MR. PRESIDENT:

By your direction I have just visited the Philippine Islands. I sailed from Seattle September 13, last; reached Manila October 15; remained in the islands until November 9, when I returned to the United States via Trans-Siberian Railway, reaching New York December 20. The occasion for my visit was the opening of the Philippine Assembly. The members of the assembly were elected in July last, in accordance with the organic act of Congress, by the eligible voters of the Christian Provinces of the islands, divided into 80 districts. The assembly becomes a branch of the legislature of the islands coordinate with the Philippine Commission. This makes a decided change in the amount of real power which the Philippine electorate is to exercise in the control of the islands. If justified by substantial improvement in the political conditions in the islands, it is a monument of progress.

It is more than nine years since the Battle of Manila Bay and the subsequent surrender of Manila by the Spaniards to the American forces. It is more than eight years since the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Paris, by which the Philippine Islands passed under the sovereignty and became the property of the United States. It is more than seven years since President McKinley, by written instructions to Mr. Root, Secretary of War, committed the government of the Philippine Islands to the central control of the Philippine Commission, subject to the supervision of the Secretary of War. It is more than six years since the complete installation of a quasi civil government in the islands, with a civil governor as executive and the commission as a legislature, all by authority of the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy. It is more than five years since the steps taken by President McKinley and yourself in establishing and maintaining a quasi civil government in the islands were completely ratified and confirmed by the Congress in an organic act which, in effect, continued the existing government, but gave it needed powers as a really civil government that the President under constitutional limitations was unable to confer. The installation of the assembly seems to be, therefore, an appropriate time for a precise statement of the national policy toward the people of the Philippines adopted by Mr. McKinley, continued by you, and confirmed by Congress, for an historical summary of the conditions political, social, and material, existing in the islands when the United States became responsible for their government, and for a review of the results of governmental measures taken to improve the

conditions of law and order, the political and intellectual capacity of the people, and their sanitary and material welfare.

The policy of the United States toward the Philippines is, of course ultimately for Congress to determine, and it is difficult to see how one Congress could bind another Congress, should the second conclude to change the policy declared by the first. But we may properly assume that after one Congress has announced a policy upon the faith of which a whole people has for some years acted and counted, good conscience would restrain subsequent Congresses from lightly changing it. For four years Congress in silence permitted Mr. McKinley and yourself, as Commanders in Chief of the Army, to adopt and carry out a policy in the Philippines, and then expressly ratified everything which you had done, and confirmed and made part of the statute certain instructions which Mr. McKinley issued for the guidance of the Philippine Commission in making civil government in the islands. Not only this, but Congress closely followed, in the so-called organic act, your recommendations as to provisions for a future change in the Philippine government. The national policy may, therefore, be found in the course pursued and declarations made by the Chief Executives in congressional messages and other state papers which have met the approval of Congress.

Shortly stated, the national policy is to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of popular self-government. One of the corollaries to this proposition is that the United States in its government of the islands will use every effort to increase the capacity of the Filipinos to exercise political power, both by general education of the densely ignorant masses and by actual practice, in partial self-government, of those whose political capacity is such that practice can benefit it without too great injury to the efficiency of government. What should be emphasized in the statement of our national policy is that we wish to prepare the Filipinos for popular self-government. This is plain from Mr. McKinley's letter of instructions and all of his utterances. It was not at all within his purpose or that of the Congress which made his letter part of the law of the land that we were merely to await the organization of a Philippine oligarchy or aristocracy competent to administer government and then turn the islands over to it. On the contrary, it is plain, from all of Mr. McKinley's utterances and your own, in interpretation of our national purpose, that we are the trustees and guardians of the whole Filipino people, and peculiarly of the ignorant masses, and that our trust is not discharged until those masses are given education sufficient to know their civil rights and maintain them against a more powerful class and safely to exercise the political franchise. This is important, in view of the claim, to which I shall hereafter refer, made by certain Filipino advocates of immediate independence under the auspices of the Boston anti-imperialists, that a satisfactory independent Philippine government could be established under a governing class of 10 per cent and a serving and obedient class of 90 per cent.

Another logical deduction from the main proposition is that when the Filipino people as a whole, show themselves reasonably fit to

conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it. The standard set, of course, is not that of perfection or such a governmental capacity as that of an Anglo-Saxon people, but it certainly ought to be one of such popular political capacity that complete independence in its exercise will result in progress rather than retrogression to chaos or tyranny. It should be noted, too, that the tribunal to decide whether the proper political capacity exists to justify independence is Congress and not the Philippine electorate. Aspiration for independence may well be one of the elements in the make-up of a people to show their capacity for it, but there are other qualifications quite as indispensable. The judgment of a people as to their own political capacity is not an unerring guide.

The national Philippine policy contemplates a gradual extension of popular control, i. e., by steps. This was the plan indicated in Mr. McKinley's instructions. This was the method indicated in your recommendation that a popular assembly be made part of the legislature. This was evidently the view of Congress in adopting your recommendation, for the title of the act is "For the temporary government of the Philippine Islands" and is significant of a purpose or policy that the government then being established was not in permanent form, but that changes in it from time to time would be necessary.

In the historical summary of conditions in the islands when the United States assumed responsibility for their government and the review of measures adopted by the present Philippine government to improve conditions and the results, it will be convenient to consider the whole subject under the following heads:

1. The conditions as to law and order. The way in which they have been restored and are now permanently maintained.

2. The political capacity and intellectual development of the Filipinos under Spain and the steps taken by the Philippine government for their general political education.

3. Conditions of health under Spain. The sanitary measures under the Philippine government.

4. The material and business conditions. Progress made under present government.

5. The future of the Philippines.

6. The cost of the Philippine Government to the United States.

THE CONDITIONS AS TO LAW AND ORDER—THEIR RESTORATION AND PERMANENT MAINTENANCE.

In 1896 occurred the first real insurrection against the Government of Spain in the Philippine Islands. The idea of a more liberal government than that which Spain gave the islands had taken root in 1871 with the opening of the Suez Canal, the flocking of Spaniards to Manila, and the spread of republican doctrines that had had a short triumph in the mother country about that time. In the measures of repression which were adopted from time to time by Spanish governors-general the aid of Spanish parish priests was thought by the people to be actively enlisted in ferreting out those suspected of sedition and too liberal political views. The priests were largely from the

four religious orders—the Dominicans, the Augustinians, the Franciscans, and the Recoletos. There was a considerable body of native priests also, but they were of the secular clergy, held the less desirable posts, and were hostile to the Spanish friars. Three of the religious orders held large bodies of rich agricultural lands situate, much of it, in Cavite, Laguna, Manila, Morong, Bataan, and Bulacan, all thickly populated Provinces close to Manila. Their tenants numbered sixty or seventy thousand persons. The insurrection of 1896 was not only against the Spanish Government to secure a more liberal régime but it was also for the elimination of the friars as a controlling political element in the community. It was largely confined to Cavite, Laguna, Manila, and Bulacan, where lay the large friars' estates. It had an agrarian aspect. There was much fighting, and the losses on both sides were very heavy, especially in the Province of Cavite. Ultimately the drastic measures of the Spaniards drove Aguinaldo and the forces which he led out of Cavite into Bulacan and led to what was known as the treaty of Biac-na-Bató. This was an arrangement by which many of the insurrecto chiefs, including Aguinaldo, agreed, in consideration of the payment of a large sum of money, to end the insurrection and withdraw from the islands. The money was to be paid in three installments. The first payment was made, and many of the chiefs, including Aguinaldo, withdrew from the islands and went to Hongkong. There was much dispute as to what the agreement was, and it was strenuously insisted by each side that the other failed to comply with its stipulations. It is not material now to consider this mooted question. Suffice it to say that in 1898, when Admiral Dewey attacked the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, the embers of dissatisfaction on the part of the former Filipino insurgents with the Spanish Government were still aglow, and it was not difficult for Aguinaldo to raise a force of insurrectos to aid the Americans in surrounding Manila and in driving Spain from the islands.

Between 1896 and 1898 the conditions which had been brought on by the first insurrection continued, and trade was much interrupted, agriculture did not flourish, and conditions as to the maintenance of order were by no means favorable. As an index to this, it may be said that the managers of the friars' estates collected no rents from the tenants after 1896. The Battle of Manila Bay and the defeat of the Spanish fleet destroyed the prestige of Spain throughout the islands and created insurrection in nearly every Province. The refusal of Gen. Merritt to permit Aguinaldo's troops to enter Manila created a resentment on the part of the Filipino soldiers, and the relations between the Americans and the Filipinos soon became strained. The situation was not relieved at all by the signing of the treaty at Paris, transferring the sovereignty of the islands to the Americans. Meantime, as the Americans were confined to the occupation of Manila, Aguinaldo and his military assistants attempted the organization of a government throughout the islands. A so-called constitutional convention was held at Malolos and a constitution was adopted. At the same time the Visayan republic was organized, to embrace the Visayan Islands, under certain Visayan leaders. It professed allegiance to Aguinaldo's government. Neither Aguinaldo's government nor the Visayan government was able to maintain order, and the whole country was subject to the looting of preda-

tory bands, and chaos reigned. Where the Aguinaldo government had authority, it was exercised with military severity and with much local oppression and corruption. On the 4th of February, 1899, there was an attack by the Filipino forces surrounding Manila upon the American troops, which was successfully resisted. Later on, upon the 23d of February, there was an outbreak in Manila itself, and an attempt to burn the city, which was suppressed by the American troops with a heavy hand.

On the 11th of April the treaty ceding the Philippine Islands to the United States was ratified and ratifications exchanged. From that time until the spring of 1900 a campaign was carried on by the American forces against the regularly organized troops under Aguinaldo. Aguinaldo's forces were defeated and scattered, and then in 1900 there succeeded a guerrilla warfare in nearly every Province on the islands, which was continued with more or less vigor until July, 1902. The guerrilla warfare was carried on only because of the encouragement received by the insurrectos from speeches of the so-called "anti-imperialists" and the assurances publicly given by political leaders in the United States of immediate severance of the relations between the islands and the United States in case the administration were defeated in the election. At times the warfare would seem to cease and the insurrections seem to be at an end, and then it would revive again, apparently with a view to influencing elections in America.

It can readily be inferred from this statement that from the breaking out of the insurrection in 1896, with the new insurrection in 1898, and the war with the Americans beginning early in 1899 until the close of the guerrilla warfare in June, 1902, the conditions of the country were not peaceable and agriculture could not flourish. Not only did the existence of actual war prevent farming, but the spirit of laziness and restlessness brought on by a guerrilla life affected the willingness of the native to work in the fields. More than this, the natural hatred for the Americans which a war vigorously conducted by American soldiers was likely to create did not make the coming of real peace easy.

But in addition to these disturbed conditions, due directly to war, there are certain features of Philippine civilization always present, war or no war, that do not tend to permanent tranquillity and can not be ignored.

In the first place the Philippines have been infested with ladrones, or robber bands, since their earliest history. The Spanish Government maintained a large force, called "la guardia civil," to suppress the evil. In some provinces, blackmail was regularly paid by large landowners to insure themselves against the loss incident to attack and destruction of their property. In the province of Cavite, for instance, ladronism was constant, and it was understood that the managers of the friars' estates, which amounted in all in that province to 125,000 acres, usually paid blackmail to ladrones in the form of money or provisions. The province of Cavite was known as "the mother of ladrones," and there was certainly a sympathy between the lower classes and the ladrones who mulcted the landlords.

But besides the ladrone habit, which makes for continued disorder, there is another quality of the ignorant masses of the Philippine

people that is a constant danger to tranquillity. More than 80 per cent of the Philippine people are illiterate. Their ignorance is dense. They speak some 15 or 16 different Malay dialects. Knowledge of one dialect does not give an understanding of another. Each dialect has a limited vocabulary, which offers no medium of communication with modern thought or civilization. Their ignorance makes them suspicious of all educated persons but those of their own race who know their dialect and are well to do.

The result is that in rural communities in the Philippines whole townships of people are completely subject to the will of any educated, active-minded person living in that community, who knows the local dialect and is willing or able to arouse either the fears or cupidity of his neighbors into the organization of a band either to resist fancied dangers or oppression, to satisfy vengeance, or to achieve a living and comfort without labor. This is the central and most important fact in the make-up of the local Philippine communities. It has led to the abuse of caciquism, i. e., local bossism, to which I shall refer in the question of the organization of municipalities and provincial governments. The history of the insurrection and of the condition of lawlessness which succeeded the insurrection is full of instances in which simple-minded country folk at the bidding of the local leader, or cacique, have committed the most horrible crimes of torture and murder, and when arrested and charged with it have merely pleaded that they were ordered to commit the crime by the great man of the community. This irresponsible power possessed by local leaders over their ignorant neighbors, in case of an independent Filipino government lacking the moral strength which the United States Government derives from its power and resources and its determination to punish disturbance and maintain order, would, under present conditions, lead, after a short period, to a chaos of ever-recurring revolt and insurrection to satisfy the vengeance of disappointed bosses and local leaders.

Whenever Filipino municipal officials come in contact either with non-Christian tribes or with inferior peoples of their own race like those who live in the mountains of Samar and Leyte, known as "pulahanes," they are likely to exercise official authority for their own profit and to the detriment of the inferior people. Thus in Samar and Leyte the mountain people raise a good deal of hemp. The municipal authorities of the lowlands and the local caciques conspire to prevent the disposition of this hemp to anyone but their own agents at an unjustly low price, using duress and a show of official authority for the purpose. This fraud and mistreatment ultimately creates among the mountain peoples a just sense of indignation. Then it is that some religious fakir invites them to organize against their enemies, under the charm of some religious token, and some lowland village is sacked and its people are murdered. The central and provincial authorities intervene and a war ensues, which lays waste much of the interior of the islands, to suppress a disorder that had its inception in a just cause of complaint.

Of course the frequency of such disturbances is reduced as education spreads, as the poor and oppressed begin to understand their rights and the lawful method of asserting them, and as the real cause of such outbreaks are more clearly understood and suppressed. But

no account of the difficulty of maintaining peace and order in the Philippines would be accurate or just which did not make clear this possible recurring cause of trouble and disturbance under present conditions, due to the ease with which simple-minded, ignorant people of a community can be aroused by one or more of the better educated of their own race viciously inclined to deeds of murder and cruel violence. Such disturbances are generally heralded as the evidence of seething sedition and discontent with the American Government, whereas they are generally but the effect and symptom of mere local abuses entirely Filipino in origin.

Having thus described the conditions of disorder, actual and potential, in the Philippines, due not only to the four or five years of intermittent and recurring war, the rancor and race hatred it tended to create, the unfounded hopes held out by American anti-imperialists, and all the other sequelæ of war, but also to certain normal features and qualities of the present Philippine civilization, I come to review the measures taken and policy adopted by the American Government to bring the islands to their present state of complete tranquillity.

THE WORK OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

The agency of the Army in bringing about order in the islands must never be minimized. The hardships of the campaign which it had to carry on were very great. The responsibility which was thrown upon captains, lieutenants, and sergeants in command of small detachments into which it was necessary to divide the Army to meet the exigencies of guerrilla warfare was met with courage and intelligence and great fertility of resource under most trying and unusual conditions. It is not too much to say that no other army of the same size could have accomplished the results which were accomplished by the American Army. At times there were some members of this Army who were tempted, in the eagerness of pursuit, into indefensible and cruel practices for the obtaining of information—practices which had been common among the Spaniards and the Filipinos themselves. Revelations of these cruelties led to severe indiscriminate criticism and attacks on the Army as a whole, which were calculated to discourage and dishearten, but in spite of all difficulties the work went on. At one time in the campaign against guerrilla warfare there were more than 500 different posts and more than 65,000 men in arms. Certain it is that order would have never been restored without the efficient and courageous service rendered by the Army, and in spite of all the stories that were told of the cruelties inflicted by the Americans upon Filipinos, only a small part of which were true, any candid observer of the conditions at the time must admit that the American soldiers as a body exhibited toward the Filipinos a self-restraint and a sympathy with the benevolent purposes of the administration which the circumstances and the character of the Filipino warfare carried on were not calculated to invite.

Not only did the Army do most efficient work in the suppression of the insurrection when war was rife, but the presence of 12,000 American soldiers in the islands since has been a moral force of great weight to secure peaceful conditions. Occasionally they have been called on for active work in subduing disorders in particular Provinces which had gone beyond the control of the local and insular peace officers and

they have rendered prompt and effective service in such cases. They are now being concentrated in larger and larger posts for economical, educational, and disciplinary purposes, but their presence anywhere in the islands is beneficial to the cause of order. They are now popular with the Filipinos, and we find the same objection to abandonment of posts by neighboring Filipino communities that we meet in the United States.

PROMISE OF EXTENSION OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

President McKinley announced as his policy that the Philippine Islands would be taken over by the American Government to be governed for the benefit of the Filipinos, and that as they developed fitness for partial self-government it should be gradually extended to them. In order to enforce and give evidence of this purpose, he appointed a commission in 1899, known from its chairman, Hon. J. G. Schurman, as the "Schurman Commission," to visit the Philippine Islands and extend local self-government as rapidly as possible. The commission was able only to investigate conditions and to report that in its judgment the Filipinos were not fit for self-government. It was able to be present at the organization of municipal government in a few towns which had been captured by the Americans, but it practically was able to do no constructive work, in view of the conditions of war that existed while it was there. It returned to the United States and made its report.

In February of 1900 a new commission was appointed by President McKinley, who gave it much more ample powers than its predecessor, for the purpose of organizing civil government in the wake of war as rapidly as conditions would permit. The powers conferred were set forth in a letter of instructions delivered by President McKinley to Mr. Root, Secretary of War, for his guidance and that of the commission in respect of the policy to be pursued in the Philippines. The commission arrived in June, 1900. The commission was not authorized to assume any authority until the 1st of September and spent its time from June until September, 1900, in making investigations. It then took over the power and duty of enacting legislation to make a government for that part of the islands in which war had ceased to exist and to make appropriations from funds raised by taxation for civil purposes. The preparation and enactment of a municipal and a provincial code for the organization and maintenance of municipalities and provinces in the islands occupied much of the attention of the commission during the remainder of the year 1900.

For the three or four months prior to the presidential election in November, 1900, it was impossible to proceed with the actual organization of civil government. The insurgents were assured that the administration of Mr. McKinley would be defeated and that his defeat would be immediately followed by a separation of the islands from the United States. Everything hung on the election. The reelection of Mr. McKinley was a great blow to the insurgents.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FEDERAL PARTY.

It is a mistake to suppose that the war by the Filipinos against the Americans had the sympathy of all the Filipinos. On the contrary,

there were many intelligent and conservative men who favored American control and who did not believe in the capacity of their people immediately to organize a government which would be stable and satisfactory, but in the face of a possible independence of the islands, they were still. Upon Mr. McKinley's second election many of these persons reached the conclusion that it was time for them to act. Accordingly, they formed the Federal Party, the chief platform of which was peace under American sovereignty and the acceptance of the American promises to govern the islands for the benefit of the Filipinos and gradually to extend popular self-government to the people. The Federal Party received accessions by thousands in all parts of the islands and in every Province, so that the commission was enabled during the year 1901, and under the auspices, and with the aid of, the Federal Party, to organize civil government in some 32 or 33 provinces or in substantially all of them. The proof of the purposes of the American Government, given in the popular features of the provincial and municipal codes, which bore out in every respect the general promises of President McKinley, had much to do with the ending of the war. From November 1, 1900, until July 1, 1901, when military government was declared to be ended and a civil governor appointed, the men and guns surrendered exceeded that of any similar period in the history of the war.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

The somewhat anomalous creation of the Philippine Commission, as a civil legislature in a purely military government established by the President by virtue of his powers as Commander in Chief, presented some difficult questions of jurisdiction between the military governor and the commission and led to considerable friction. The commission, however, held the purse strings, and as is usual in such cases the control of appropriations ultimately left the powers of the commission substantial and undisputed. Another difficulty arose in respect to jurisdiction of the courts established and appointed by the commissioners to issue writs of habeas corpus to inquire into the legality of the detention of civilians by the general commanding. This, too, subsequently was worked out in favor of the civil courts. The differences between the military and civil authorities did not escape the attention of the Philippine public, and of course the sympathy of the Filipinos went with the civil side of the controversy, and the appointment of a civil governor July 1, 1901, and the clothing him with extensive authority had the popular approval. This was increased by the appointment to the commission of three Filipino members. They were the most prominent members of the Federal Party. The commission now consisted of the civil governor, four other Americans, and three Filipinos. The four American members, in addition to their legislative work, were made, respectively, the heads of four departments—one of finance and justice, the second of the interior, the third of commerce and police, and the fourth of public instruction. To these departments were assigned the appropriate bureaus by which the business of the central government was directly carried on. The presence of the Filipinos in the controlling body of the government offered an excellent opportunity for

Filipino influence to affect legislation and brought to the new quasi civil government a sympathetic support from the Filipino public that included most of those but recently in arms against American sovereignty.

In some Provinces civil government proved to have been prematurely established, notably in Batangas, Cavite, Cebu, and Samar, and in the fall of 1901 the services of the Army were again required in those Provinces. But ultimately they became peaceful. The guerilla forces which continued in arms were finally subjugated or brought in through the vigor of the Army and the influence of the Federal party, before July 1, 1902, when peace was officially declared to exist by your proclamation of amnesty.

EFFECT ON PERMANENT ORDER OF MUNICIPAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS AND NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

Under the head of political education I shall describe the initiation and maintenance of municipal and provincial governments in some detail, and shall consider them and the assembly as instruments in the political education of the Filipinos and comment on their efficiency and defects as government agencies. I now wish to refer to them as part of the so-called policy of "attraction." The Filipino people did not expect the liberal and popular provisions of the municipal and provincial codes, and their enactment created the revulsion of feeling that enabled the Federal party to bring on peace. The part the people were given in governing both towns and Provinces stimulated them to efforts in behalf of order that became greatly more sympathetic and effective, when, as I hereafter point out, the officers of the insular constabulary learned their real function of assistance and not independent command. The giving control of the provincial board to two elected officials added to their sense of responsibility as to order in the Province and was convincing of the sincerity of American promise to extend popular control by gradual steps.

The provisions of the organic act passed by Congress in July, 1902, confirming President McKinley's policy and the promise of an assembly if good order was maintained, had a great effect to make the Filipino people anxious to preserve order, and no act of the American Executive was more convincing to the people of the good faith of the Administration than your proclamation of the elections at a time when an excuse for delay within the law might easily have been found in some of the disturbances then existing. The existence and influence of the assembly are important continuing factors in the maintenance of law and order.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COURTS.

Even under the purely military administration before the appointment of the commission a military governor had established civil courts for the purpose of disposing of civil cases and for such violations of law as were not more conveniently disposed of by military tribunals. The commission early passed a law dividing the islands into some 15 districts, establishing a court of first instance in each dis-

trict, together with a supreme court of seven to consider appeals from the courts of first instance. This system was recognized and adopted by Congress in the organic act of July 1, 1902. The policy was pursued of appointing a Filipino, the first lawyer of the islands, the chief justice of the supreme court, together with two Filipino colleagues and four Americans. About the same proportion between Americans and Filipinos was observed in the appointment of judges of the court of first instance.

There was great difficulty in finding proper material for the American judges because there were so few American lawyers in the United States who spoke Spanish, and it greatly interfered with the convenience of hearings if the judge did not know Spanish. However, time cured this difficulty, because the American appointees rapidly acquired a knowledge of the Spanish language sufficient to take testimony and hear arguments without interpreters. The first years of the courts, especially in the country, were almost entirely occupied in hearing criminal cases. The civil government very soon adopted the position that after a state of peace had been declared in 1902, men in arms engaged in looting and robbery should be treated not as *insurrectos* or as enemies under the laws of war, but merely as violators of the local law. In the early days of the insurrection if a body of *insurrectos* was organized in any Province and was captured, their guns were taken and after a short imprisonment the men were released. This practice had led to a feeling on the part of the ignorant people that they might with impunity resort to arms, and if caught thereafter that they would be imprisoned for a short time only and then released. The imposition of long sentences, 15 or 20 years, and the confinement of men in Bilibid prison and the requirement that they should work at hard labor was a most effective method of teaching the ignorant and easily led members of a community the difference between a political revolution and the crime of robbery and living on one's neighbors by force.

A great number of persons in various provinces were prosecuted for banditism. A statute was passed to cover these cases providing that a man might be convicted of a felony by conclusive proof that he was a member of a band organized to commit robberies, even though no evidence was adduced to show any particular robbery in which he was personally concerned. This has been hailed as a departure from the usages of the common law and the spirit of our institutions. It is nothing of the kind. It is merely the denunciation of a particular kind of conspiracy. It was entirely impracticable to identify the perpetrators of particular robberies, but it was entirely practicable to prove conclusively the existence of a band to commit the robberies, and the membership of the particular defendant in that band, although his presence at the commission of an overt act it was often impossible to show. There is not the slightest reason in law or morals why a man thus proved to be a robber should not be punished and punished just as severely as the men who were actually taken in the commission of the act. The effect of this law was to bring to justice a great number of criminals in various provinces, and its vigorous administration by both the Filipino and American judges under active prosecution by Filipino prosecutors did much toward the suppression of *ladronism*. The difficulty was that the number of convicted per-

sons became so large as to strain the capacity of the jails and penitentiaries in the islands. This congested condition has been met, however, now, first, by the establishment of a penal colony in the island of Palawan, and, second, by the use of prisoners in several provinces for the construction of roads.

After many of those sentenced for highway robbery had served two years the Governor General appointed a commission to go over the cases to recommend for pardon those persons who, while guilty of the crime charged, were not of the criminal class, but had been led into it by duress and undue influence of neighboring brigand chiefs and caciques. Quite a large number of these persons were paroled and sent back to their homes to give them an opportunity to become good citizens. The changing condition of the country and the maintenance of law and order are evidenced by the fact that the proportion of civil cases to criminal cases in the courts of first instance and the supreme court is rapidly increasing. It is becoming much easier to dispose of criminal cases, while it is the civil cases that now clog the dockets. The standard in the administration of justice in the islands is high. It has been sometimes charged by irresponsible persons that some of the judges were subject to executive influence. An investigation into the matter discloses not the slightest evidence of the existence of any such evil, and the whole charge rests on the easily spread rumor of disappointed litigants or political enemies of the government. On the whole, I am quite sure that throughout the islands the judges of the courts, and especially the members of the supreme court, have the entire confidence of the public in the justice and sincerity of their conclusions. No distinction has been made in the hearing of causes by a Filipino or American judge, and the system moves on quietly and effectively to accomplish the purpose for which it was adopted. The influence of the courts in the restoration of order has been very important.

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY.

Another step most necessary and useful in the restoration of order was the organization of a body of upward of 5,000 men, Filipinos officered by Americans, into a constabulary divided into companies and organized by Regular Army officers. But little difficulty was found in the organization of this body as an efficient fighting and scouting force, but it took several years of training, of elimination, and of severe discipline before the subordinate officers, those assigned to each Province, were made to understand the proper policy to be pursued by them in respect to the native governors and presidents of the municipalities who had been elected by the people under the municipal and provincial codes. At first there was constant friction and suspicion between them, and this did not aid at all the work of suppressing ladrones and other disreputable and vicious elements of the community. Year by year, however, improvement has been made in this regard, and the lesson has been taught that the constabulary are not a military force, but a force of police organized by the central government and paid out of its treasury to assist in a sympathetic way the native local officers in the work of suppression of disorder and lawlessness of their particular localities. When I

was in the islands two years ago the native papers were full of condemnation of the constabulary and its severity. During the last two years a most remarkable change has taken place in the relations between the officers and men of this force and the provincial governors and officers of the towns, and now there is nothing more popular in the islands than the constabulary.

FRIARS' LANDS.

A most potential source of disorder in the islands was the ownership of what were called the "friars' lands" by three of the religious orders of the islands—the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the so-called bare-footed Augustinians, known as "Recoletos." These lands amounted in all to 425,000 acres, of which 275,000 were in the immediate neighborhood of Manila, 25,000 in Cebu, and 125,000 in the remote Provinces of Isabela and Mindoro. The tenants on those which were close to Manila numbered some sixty or seventy thousand persons. The attitude of the people toward the friars' lands was shown by the fact that the so-called constitutional convention assembled by Aguinaldo at Malolos nationalized the friars' lands—that is, appropriated them to the so-called "Republic of the Philippines." With the restoration of order and the establishment of courts the representatives of these religious bodies were entitled to go into court and recover from tenants the rents which had been in arrears since 1896, and to eject them from the lands which they had occupied unless they admitted title and continued to pay rent. The occupants of the friars' lands resolutely refused to do either, and the Philippine government was confronted with the immediate prospect of suits to evict 60,000 tenants in those Provinces prone to disturbances and insurrection.

The situation was further strained by the fact that the church, for lack of other competent priests, showed every inclination to send back to the parishes from which they had been driven as many of the friars who had been parish priests as it could. Every parish to which a friar priest returned at once began to seethe with popular indignation, and threats of violence were constantly made toward him. The only solution possible, consistent with the preservation of vested property rights on the one hand, and the right secured by treaty to the friars of freedom of religion and freedom of speech in any part of the islands, was some arrangement by which the land could be taken over by the Government and the church induced not to send friars as parish priests to those parishes where riot and disturbance were likely to follow. A visit to Rome for consultation with the head of the Roman Catholic Church resulted in the Pope's sending an apostolic delegate to the islands with adequate powers and in subsequent negotiations which ultimately led to the purchase of the lands for seven millions of dollars and induced a practice on the part of the hierarchy of the church by which they send no friars as parish priests into any parish in which the Governor-General makes final objection.

The price paid for the lands was a good round sum. It had to be in order to secure them. Congress, convinced of the necessity for their acquisition, had provided, in the organic act for the establish-

ment of a government in the Philippines, either for their purchase or in the alternative for their condemnation by the Government and their subsequent disposition on long, easy terms to the occupants. The representatives of the Dominican order objected to the condemnation of their lands and employed able counsel to test the validity of the provision for condemnation for such a purpose. The point made was a serious one and increased the importance of securing the lands by purchase, if possible. With the Government as a landlord the tenants manifest no disposition to contest its title, save in a few isolated cases. I shall not stop now to discuss the present value of the lands or their management. I shall refer to that later. It is enough for my present purpose to point out that the acquisition of these lands by the Government and the adjustment of differences as to the use of friars as parish priests have removed a fruitful source of disturbance in the Provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Manila, Bataan, Morong, and Cebu.

By another compromise, to which I shall refer in detail later, a controversy between the Government and the Roman Catholic Church as to charitable and educational trusts and in respect to the Spanish-Filipino Bank has been settled. At one time this controversy promised to contribute to the disorder of the islands.

There are no other questions between the Government and the Roman Catholic Church, unless it can be said that questions of possession and title to church property arising from the Aglipayan schism can be said to involve them.

Immediately after our negotiations with Leo XIII at Rome were found not to include an absolute agreement to withdraw the friars from the islands, Aglipay, a former Catholic priest under excommunication, organized a schism from the Roman church. He called his church the Independent Filipino Catholic Church. At first the schism spread far and wide through the islands, and as the number of priests of the Roman Catholic Church by reason of the expulsion of the friars had been reduced so that many churches lay open and idle, the priests of the Aglipayan schism, with the acquiescence of the townspeople in the various villages where the Aglipayans were in the majority, assumed possession of land and church buildings which had been occupied in Spanish days by the Roman Catholic Church. Possession was taken under a claim that the churches belonged to the people of the municipality and that they were able to dispose of the use of the churches to such religious purposes as they saw fit. This course of procedure led to innumerable controversies and to frequent breaches of the peace and to a bitterness of feeling that did not make either for the tranquillity of the islands or their prosperity.

The executive consistently and properly declined to decide the question of title or the right to possession which arose in each case after peaceable possession had been taken. This was regarded as unreasonable by the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, but was the only possible course which the civil executive could take without arrogating to itself judicial powers. Instead of attempting to decide these questions the commission passed a law providing for their early settlement by suits brought originally in the supreme court. One set of these cases has been decided in favor of the Roman Catholic Church and others are now nearly ready for decision, so

that we may reasonably expect that within six months the whole matter may be disposed of, and when this is done the religious obstacles that seemed so formidable when the Philippine government was assumed by the United States will have been disposed of permanently and that fruitful source of disturbance and riot and discontent will have ceased.

I have given in detail the steps taken to restore and maintain order in the islands. I have mentioned the vigorous campaign of the Army and the moral restraint of its presence in the islands, the promises of President McKinley as to gradual extension of self-government, the organization of the Federal Party, the institution of municipal and provincial governments on a popular plan, the confirmation of President McKinley's policy by the act of Congress establishing a Philippine government, assuring a national assembly, and your fulfillment of the assurance, the establishment of courts with partly American and partly Filipino judges, the punishment of predatory bands as civil felons, the establishment and growth of the insular constabulary as a sympathetic aid to Filipino municipal and provincial officials in suppressing lawlessness, and, finally, the removal by satisfactory compromises of the irritating church questions which had much to do with causing the original insurrection and, if unsettled, were pregnant with disorder.

PRESENT CONDITION.

Peace prevails throughout the islands to-day in a greater degree than ever in the history of the islands, either under Spanish or American rule, and agriculture is nowhere now impeded by the fear on the part of the farmer of the incursion of predatory bands. Under the policy already stated, inaugurated by the instructions of President McKinley to Secretary Root, in reference to the establishment of a temporary government in the Philippines, a community consisting of 7,000,000 people, inhabiting 300 different islands, many of whom were in open rebellion against the Government of the United States for four years, with all the disturbances following from robber and predatory bands which broke out from time to time, due to local causes, has been brought to a state of profound peace and tranquillity in which the people as a whole are loyally supporting the government in the maintenance of order. This is the first and possibly the most important accomplishment of the United States in the Philippines.

THE POLITICAL CAPACITY AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE FILIPINOS UNDER SPAIN AND THE STEPS TAKEN BY THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR GENERAL AND POLITICAL EDUCATION.

Very little practical political education was given by the Spaniards to the Filipinos. Substantially all the important executive offices in the islands were assigned to Spaniards, and the whole government was bureaucratic. The provincial and municipal authorities were appointed and popular elections were unknown. The administration of the municipalities was largely under the supervision and direction of the Spanish priest of the parish. No responsibility for govern-

ment, however local or unimportant, was thrust upon Filipinos in such a way as to give them political experience, nor were the examples of fidelity to public interest sufficiently numerous in the officeholders to create a proper standard of public duty. The greatest difficulty that we have had to contend with in vesting Filipinos with official power in municipalities is to instill in them the idea that an office is not solely for private emolument.

There was an educated class among the Filipinos under the Spanish régime. The University of St. Thomas, founded by the Dominican Order early in the seventeenth century, has furnished an academic education to many graduates. The same order, as well as the Jesuits and the Augustinians, maintained secondary and primary schools for the well-to-do. Quite a number of Filipinos were educated in Spain or France. As compared with the youth and young men of school and college age in the islands, the number, however, was very small. These men were educated either as lawyers, physicians, pharmacists, or priests. In politics their knowledge was wholly theoretical. They imbibed liberal ideas from the spread of republican doctrines in Spain, and the repressive policy of the Spanish Government, of course, operated only to encourage them. They were patriotic, and soon conceived of the Philippines as a nation. Rizal, a leader of Philippine thought, a poet, and a political writer, did not favor independence, for he believed his people not yet fitted, but he sought reform in the Spanish government of the Philippines and some popular voice in it.

As the protest against Spanish domination grew, the aspiration for complete independence took possession of many, and in the insurrections which followed there were many patriots moved by as high ideals as those which have led to revolutions in any country. Their conception of liberty, of independence, of government were wholly ideal, however. When in the course of events they came to actual government they were unable to realize their conceptions, and only a one-man power or an oligarchy with class privilege and no real civil rights for the so-called serving or obedient class followed. They needed as much education in practical civil liberty as their more ignorant fellow countrymen in reading, writing, and arithmetic.

The efforts of the American Government to teach the ignorant their civil rights and to uplift them to self-governing capacity finds only a languid sympathy from many of the "ilustrados." From them comes the only objection to teaching English to the common people, lest they lose their national character; as if it were necessary to keep the people confined to 16 barbarous dialects in order that they should be distinctly Filipino. The real motive for the objection, whether conscious or not, is in the desire of the upper class to maintain the relation of the ruling class to the serving and obedient class.

The educated Filipino has an attractive personality. His mind is quick, his sense of humor fine, his artistic sense acute and active; he has a poetic imagination; he is courteous in the highest degree; he is brave; he is generous; his mind has been given by his education a touch of the scholastic logicism; he is a musician; he is oratorical by nature.

The educated Filipino is an aristocrat by Spanish association. He prefers that his children should not be educated at the public schools,

and this accounts for the large private schools which the religious orders and at least one Filipino association are able to maintain. In arguing that the Philippines are entirely fit for self-government now, a committee of educated Filipinos once filed with the civil governor a written brief in which it was set forth that the number of "ilustrados" in the islands was double that of the offices—central, provincial, and municipal—and therefore the country afforded two "shifts" of persons competent to run the government. This, it was said, made clear the possibility of a good government if independence was granted. The ignorance of the remainder of the people, admitted to be dense, made no difference. I cite this to show of how little importance an intelligent public opinion or an educated constituency is regarded in the community and government which many of the educated Filipinos look forward to as a result of independence. I do not say that there are not notable exceptions to this among leading Filipinos, but such persons are usually found among those who are not so impatient to lose American guidance in the government. Indeed, I am gratified to hear that the first bill which passed the assembly was an appropriation of a million pesos for barrio schools. On the whole, however, there is reason for believing that were the government of the islands now turned over to the class which likes to call itself the natural ruling class, the movement initiated by the present government to educate the ignorant classes would ultimately lose its force. The candor with which some of the representatives of the independista movement have spoken of the advantage for governmental purposes of having 80 per cent of the people in a serving or obedient class indicates this.

No one denies that 80 per cent of the Filipino people are densely ignorant. They are in a state of Christian tutelage. They are child-like and simple, with no language but a local Malay dialect spoken in a few Provinces; they are separate from the world's progress. The whole tendency under the Spaniards was to keep them ignorant and innocent. The Spanish public school system was chiefly on paper. They were for a long time subject completely to the control of the Spanish friar, who was parish priest and who generally did not encourage the learning of Spanish or great acquaintance with the world at large. The world owes to the Spanish friar the Christianization of the Filipino race. It is the only Malay or oriental race that is Christian. The friars beat back the wave of Mohammedanism and spread their religion through all the islands. They taught the people the arts of agriculture, but they believed it best to keep them in a state of innocent ignorance. They did not encourage the coming into the Filipino local communities of Spaniards. They feared the influence of world knowledge. They controlled the people and preached to them in their own dialects. They lived and died among them.

The friars left the people a Christian people—that is, a people with western ideals. They looked toward Rome and Europe and America. They were not like the Mohammedan or the Buddhist, who despise western civilization as inferior. They were in a state of tutelage, ripe to receive modern western conceptions as they should be educated to understand them. This is the reason why I believe that the whole Christian Filipino people are capable by training and

experience of becoming a self-governing people. But for the present they are ignorant and in the condition of children. So, when the revulsion from the Spanish domination came, as it did, the native priest or the neighboring "ilustrado" or "cacique" led them into the insurrection. They are a brave people and make good soldiers if properly led. They learn easily, and the most striking fact in our whole experience in the Philippines is the eagerness with which the common Filipino agricultural laborer sends his children to school to learn English.

There is no real difference between the educated and ignorant Filipinos that can not be overcome by the education of one generation. They are a capable people in the sense that they can be given a normal intellectual development by the same kind of education that is given in our own common-school system. Now they have not intelligence enough to exercise the political franchise with safety to themselves or their country; but I do not see why a common-school education in English, with industrial teaching added, may not make the children of these people capable of forming an intelligent public opinion needed to sustain a popular government if, at the same time that the oncoming generations are being educated in schools, primary and industrial, those who are intelligent are being given a political education by actually exercising the power of the franchise and actually taking part in the government.

As will be seen hereafter, the Philippine government has not funds enough to educate in primary and industrial schools all the present generation of school age, and unless some other source of funds than governmental revenues is found it will take longer than a generation to complete the primary and industrial education of the common people. Until that is done, we ought not to lift our guiding hand from the helm of the ship of state of the Philippine Islands. With these general remarks as to the present unfitness of the Filipino people for popular self-government and their capacity for future development so that they may, by proper education, general and political, become a self-governing people, I come to the methods pursued by the Philippine government in furnishing to the Filipinos the necessary education. I shall consider the subject under two heads:

1. Education in schools for the youth of school age.
2. Practical political education by the extension, step by step, of political control to an eligible class.

FIRST: EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS.

Reference has already been made to the fact of the very great ignorance and illiteracy that prevails among the Filipino people. It is not too much to say that knowledge of Spanish is a fairly good indication whether an individual can be said to be educated. Statistics show that but 7 per cent of the people of the islands speak Spanish; all the others speak in the varying dialects, which among the civilized people number some 16. The Philippine people should be educated sufficiently to have a common medium of communication, and every man, woman, and child should have the benefit of the primary education in that common medium. Reading, writing,

and arithmetic are necessary to enable the rural laborer and the small hemp, coconut, or tobacco farmer to make contracts for the sale of his products and to know what price he should receive for that which he has to sell. With this knowledge, too, he will soon be able to know his own rights and to resist the absolute control which is now frequently exercised over him by the local cacique.

The necessity for a common-school system was emphasized in the instructions of President McKinley to Secretary Root, and those responsible for the government of the islands have been earnest and active in seeking to establish one. The language selected for the schools is English. It is selected because it is the language of business in the Orient, because it is the language of free institutions, and because it is the language which the Filipino children who do not know Spanish are able more easily to learn than they are to learn Spanish, and it is the language of the present sovereign of the islands. The education in English began with the soldiers of the American Army, one of whom was detailed from each company to teach schools in the villages which had become peaceful. When the commission assumed authority it sent to the United States for 1,000 American teachers, and after the arrival of these pioneers in the islands a system of primary schools was inaugurated together with normal schools.

Public educational work in the islands is performed under the bureau of education, with the central office located in Manila, having 37 divisions, each in charge of a division superintendent, embracing in all 379 school districts each in charge of a supervising teacher. The total number of schools in operation during the past year was: Primary schools, 3,435; intermediate schools, 162; arts and trades schools, 32; agricultural schools, 5; domestic-science schools, 17; and provincial high schools, 36; making a total of 3,687 and an increase from the previous year as follows: 327 primary schools, 70 intermediate schools, 15 arts and trades schools, 3 agricultural schools, and 9 domestic-science schools. There are engaged in the teaching of these schools at present 717 permanent American teachers and 109 temporary appointees, and all of these are paid out of the central treasury. In addition to these there are what are known as Filipino insular teachers, numbering 455, who are paid out of the central treasury. In addition to these there are 5,656 municipal Filipino teachers, all of whom speak and teach English and who are paid out of the treasuries of the municipalities.

The 6,000 Filipino teachers who are now teaching English have received their English education from our normal schools or our American teachers. Their number is growing, and they represent and are the most valuable educational asset we have acquired in working out our school system. The average annual salary of the Filipino insular teacher is 533.2 pesos a year, while that of municipal teachers is 210.36 pesos. The Filipino insular teachers are drawn from graduates of normal schools and also from the students sent by the Government and at the expense of the Government to the United States to be educated there. Forty-six of these students have recently returned from the United States and have been appointed as insular teachers at salaries ranging from 840 to 960 pesos per annum. The average paid to the American teacher is about \$1.200 per annum. The total

enrollment for the year, inclusive of the Moro Province—the schools in which are conducted under a separate system—was 479,978. This was in the month of March at the close of the school year, when the enrollment reached its highest point. The average enrollment total by months was 346,245, of whom 62 per cent were boys and 38 per cent were girls. The average daily attendance was 269,000, or a percentage of attendance of about 85 per cent. The highest percentage of attendance was 94, in the city of Manila. The lowest percentage in some of the provinces was 78. The attendance and enrollment in schools begins in August, which is the beginning of the school year, and ends in March. As August is one of the wet months, the attendance begins at the lowest figure and increases gradually into the dry season until its highest point at the close of the school year in March.

The central government this year for school purposes and construction of schools has appropriated 3,500,000 pesos. The maintenance of primary schools is imposed by law upon the municipalities, and involves a further expenditure of nearly a million and a half pesos. In order to relieve distress incident to agricultural depression, it was found necessary to suspend the land tax, a part of the proceeds of which by mandatory provision of law was appropriated to the support of municipal schools. The central government in the first year appropriated a sufficient sum from the internal revenue to meet the deficit caused by the failure to impose the land tax, but in 1907-8 it was only able to appropriate 50 per cent of the amount which would have been raised by the land tax, and next year no such appropriation will be made, and it will be left optional with the province whether the land tax shall be imposed or not.

The great difficulty in the matter of education in the islands is the lack of funds to make it as extended as it should be. The suspension of the land tax is subjecting the educational system to a crisis, but the revival of agriculture in many parts of the islands leads to the hope that the crisis may be successfully passed. It would be entirely possible to expend for the sole benefit of the Philippine people, without the least waste, upward of two or three millions of dollars annually in addition to all that the government of the Philippine Islands—central, municipal, and provincial—can afford to devote to this object. We are not able to educate as they should be educated more than a half of the youth of school age in the islands. The government, while contributing to the maintenance of high schools in each province, is devoting its chief attention to the spread of primary education, and in connection with primary education, and, at its close in the intermediate schools, to industrial education. Primary and industrial education carried on until the child is 14 or 15 years old is thought to be the best means of developing the Filipino people into a self-sustaining and self-governing people, and the present government has done all that it has been possible to do in developing and maintaining a proper system for this purpose. The tendency toward the development of industrial education the world over has created such a demand for industrial teachers as to make it impossible for the Philippine government to secure as many as are needed for the purpose in the islands, and in order to have these industrial teachers it must take the time to educate them as such, just as it did the Filipino primary teachers in English.

There are now in the islands, including art and trade schools, agricultural schools, and domestic-science schools, at least one industrial school to every Province, and it is the purpose to increase this number as rapidly as resources and opportunity will permit. Under the influence of the traditions of the Spanish régime, when manual labor seems to have been regarded as an evidence of servitude, it was at first impossible to secure pupils for the great manual training school in Manila. Boys preferred to be "escribientes" or clerks and gentlemen rather than to learn to win a livelihood by the skill of their hands, but this has been rapidly overcome. In the insular school of arts and trades in Manila, where the plant and equipment is quite satisfactory, instruction is now given some 350 pupils in English, arithmetic, geography, mechanical drawing, woodworking (bench work, carving, turning, and cabinet making), ironworking (bench work, filing, blacksmithing, and iron machine work), and finishing, including painting and varnishing, to which will be added next year boat building and wheelwrighting. At the present time there are on the waiting list some 200 pupils who seek admission but for whom no places are available. A large insular agricultural school is to be established in Manila for giving instruction in practical agriculture, and the money, 100,000 pesos, necessary for the building and construction has already been appropriated.

The influence of the primary instruction in English is shown throughout the islands by the fact that to-day more people throughout the islands, outside of Manila and the large cities, speak English than speak Spanish. A noticeable result of the government's activity in the establishment of English schools has been the added zeal in teaching English in private educational establishments. A Filipino school managed and taught only by Filipinos, called "Liceo," has some 1,500 pupils in Manila, and English is regularly taught as part of the curriculum of that school; the Dominican order of friars, which is primarily an educational order, has schools in and about Manila with upward of 2,000 students, and English is now made a very important part of the curriculum of those schools. The Jesuits also have two very large schools in Manila, embracing some 1,000 or 1,500 pupils drawn from all parts of the islands, in which English is made an important branch of the study. There is considerable competition in this matter and there seems now to be a united effort to spread the knowledge of English in accordance with the government's policy. At times, as already intimated, a discordant note is heard in the suggestion that the American Government is seeking to deprive the Filipino of his native language. As his native language is really 15 or 16 different dialects, this does not seem a great deprivation. It is possible that some effort will be made to include in the primary instruction the reading and writing of the local dialect in the local schools. No objection can be made to this unless it shall interfere with the instruction in English, which it is hoped it may not do.

Should Congress be anxious to facilitate and hurry on the work of redeeming the Philippine Islands and making the Filipino people a self-governing community, it could take no more effective step than a permanent appropriation of two or three millions of dollars for ten or fifteen years to the primary and industrial education of the Filipino people, making it conditional on the continued appropria-

tion by the Philippine government, of the same amount to educational purposes which it has devoted and is now devoting annually to that purpose. The influence of the educational system introduced has not only been direct in the spread of education among the younger of the present generation, but it has also been an indirect means of convincing the Filipino people at large of the beneficent purpose of the American Government in its remaining in the Philippine Islands and of the sincerity of its efforts in the interest of their people.

FILIPINO CADETS AT WEST POINT.

Section 36 of the act of Congress, approved February 2, 1901, referring to Philippine Scouts, provides that—

When, in the opinion of the President, natives of the Philippine Islands shall, by their services and character, show fitness for command, the President is authorized to make provisional appointments to the grades of second and first lieutenants from such natives, who, when so appointed, shall have the pay and allowances to be fixed by the Secretary of War, not exceeding those of corresponding grades of the Regular Army.

As it is thought that better results will be obtained if a few young Filipinos, especially selected, be appointed to the United States Military Academy with a view to their being commissioned officers of scouts upon graduation, I strongly recommend that Congress, by appropriate legislation, authorize the appointment of seven young Filipinos, or one for about every million of inhabitants of those islands, as cadets at the Military Academy at West Point. This action on the part of Congress would, in my judgment, tend to further increase the zeal and efficiency of a body of troops which has always rendered faithful and satisfactory services.

SECOND: PRACTICAL POLITICAL EDUCATION.

There is no doubt that the exercise of political power is the best possible political education and ought to be granted whenever the pupil has intelligence enough to perceive his own interest even in a rude practical way, or when other competent electors are sufficiently in the majority to avoid the injury likely to be done by a government of ignorance and inexperience. The Philippine government concluded that the only persons in the Philippines who had intelligence enough to make their exercise of political power useful to them as an education and safe as a governmental experiment were those who spoke and wrote English or Spanish, or who paid \$7.50 a year taxes, or whose capacity had been recognized in Spanish times by their appointment as municipal officials. Adult males who came within these classes, it was thought, ought to begin their political education by assuming political responsibility, and so they were made electors in municipal, provincial, and assembly elections, and embraced, as near as it can be estimated, about 12 to 15 per cent of the adult male population. Of course, as the common school education spreads, the electorate will increase.

Let us now examine the political education which has been given in practice to these eligible electors and the results.

MUNICIPALITIES AND PROVINCES.

By the municipal code the old municipalities under the Spanish régime, which resembled the townships of the West and the towns of New England, were authorized to reorganize under the American Government. They consisted generally of the *población*, or the most centrally located and most populous settlement, with a number of *barrios* or outlying wards or villages, all within the municipality and under its control. The provisions of the code did not differ materially from those of similar codes in the United States, except that wherever possible and practicable the unobjectionable customs of the country were recognized and acquiesced in formally in the law. The towns were divided into classes and the salaries of the officials were limited accordingly. The provincial code provided for the organization of governments in the provinces which had been recognized as Provinces under the Spanish régime. Under the original provisions of that code the government of the Province—legislative and executive—was under a provincial board, consisting of a governor and treasurer and a supervisor of roads and buildings. Other appointed officers were provided, as the prosecuting attorney and the secretary of the Province, who did not sit on the provincial board. The governor was originally elected by the councilmen of all the towns of the Province assembled in convention, they themselves having previously been elected by the people. The treasurer and supervisor were each selected and appointed under the rules adopted in accordance with the merit system provided in a civil-service law, which was among the first passed by the commission.

One of the early difficulties in the maintenance of an efficient government in the Provinces was the poverty of the Provinces and the lack of taxable resources to support any kind of a government at all. It was soon found that the provincial supervisor, who, it was hoped, might be an American engineer, was too expensive a burden for the Province to carry. For a time the district superintendent of education of the Province was made the third member of the provincial board instead of the supervisor, whose office was abolished. This, however, did not work well, because the time of the superintendent was needed for his educational duties. Subsequently, therefore, it was thought wise to provide a third member of the board, who served with but little compensation and who was elected as the governor was elected. The system of electing the governor by convention of councilmen of all the towns of the Province was changed, so that now the governor and the third member of the board are elected by direct popular vote, while the treasurer is still appointed. It will be seen that, in this way, the government of the towns is completely autonomous, subject only to visitation and disciplinary action of the governor of the Province and of the Governor General on appeal. The provincial government now, though not originally, is completely autonomous in the sense that a majority of the board which governs the Province are elected by the people. The duties of the provincial treasurer are burdensome, complex, and important to such a degree as to make it impossible thus far to find Filipinos who have been able to master the duties of the office and to give satisfaction therein, although there are quite a number of Filipino assistant treasurers and

subordinates in the office of treasurer who give reasonable ground to expect that the American treasurers may be in a reasonable time supplanted by Filipino treasurers.

The question now arises what has been shown in the government of these municipalities and of the provinces in respect to the capacity of the Filipinos for complete self-government in local matters? It is undoubtedly true that the municipalities would be much more efficient had the policy been pursued of appointing Americans to the important offices in the municipalities, but there would have been two great objections to this course, one that the municipal government would not have attracted the sympathetic attention of the people as the present municipalities have—and we would thus have lost a valuable element in making such government a success—and the other that the educational effect upon the people in training them for self-government would have been much less.

When I say that the development of municipal government in the Philippines has been satisfactory, I am far from saying that it has been without serious defects. All I mean is that considering the two-fold object in view—first governmental, second educational—the result thus far, with all its shortcomings, shows progress toward both ends and vindicates the course taken. -

Up to the time of our occupation, the government had represented to the Filipino an entity entirely distinct from himself, with which he had little sympathy and which was engaged in an attempt to obtain as much money as possible from him in the form of taxes. He had been taught to regard an office as the private property of the person holding it and in respect to which ordinary practice justified the holder in making as much profit from it as he could. The idea that a public office is a public trust had not been implanted in the Filipino mind by experience, and the conception that an officer who fails in his duty, by embezzlement or otherwise, was violating an obligation that he owed to each individual member of the public he found it difficult to grasp. He was apt to regard the robbing of the government by one of its officers as an affair in which he had little or no interest and in which, not infrequently, his sympathies were against the government. As a consequence, the chief sense of restraint felt by municipal officials in handling public funds comes from a fear of inspection by the central government and its prosecution. The fear of condemnation by the public opinion of the local community has a much less deterrent force, even if the official is to seek reelection. The sense of responsibility for the government they control and whose officers they elect is brought home to the people of a municipality with slowness and difficulty. This is the political education that is going on in the Filipino municipalities. We are making progress, but we must be patient, for it is not the task of a day to eradicate traditions and ideas that had their origin in a system of government under which this people lived for centuries.

Hence when we find that there is still a considerable percentage of Filipino municipal officers who have to be removed and prosecuted for embezzlement, we must not be discouraged. Early in the American occupation we had to prosecute 16 or 17 American provincial treasurers for defalcations in public funds. It was bitterly humiliating for the dominant race to furnish such an example, when we

were assuming to teach the Filipinos the art of self-government. The American embezzlers were all promptly sent to Bilibid Penitentiary for long terms. This had an excellent effect upon both Americans and Filipinos in the islands. The defalcations were due to a lack of good material available for these positions in the islands. To-day the American provincial treasurers are of the highest order of public servants and are a credit to the American name. Their example has been of the utmost benefit in the training of Filipino municipal and provincial officials.

Another difficulty arising from a similar cause that we have had to meet and overcome has been the disposition of municipal councils to vote all of the available funds for the payment of their own salaries and leave nothing for the improvement or repair of roads, the construction of buildings, or the payment of school-teachers, and this although the law may, by mandatory provision, have set aside certain definite shares of the public funds for such purposes. These evils have had to be remedied by placing the funds in the hands of the provincial treasurer so as to secure the payment of the amount required by law to be devoted to educational purposes and by imposing upon the discretion of common councils to vote salaries from their funds a limitation that the total of salaries shall not exceed a certain percentage of the total funds in control of the town.

The people of the towns seem fully to appreciate the value of roads, but when it comes to exerting themselves and denying themselves for the purpose of securing the great benefit of good roads, they have not thus far nerved themselves to the sacrifice. Many miles of road have been constructed by the central government and then turned over to the municipalities for maintenance, with the result that in one or two years of the torrential rains the roads have become nothing but quagmires without any work of maintenance or repair done on them. One of the common means throughout the United States for building roads or repairing them is to require all male adults to work upon the roads four or five days of the year, or perhaps a longer period, or to commute the work by payment of a tax. This would be the natural method of repairing roads in the Philippines; but the difficulty is that it was the method adopted by the Spaniards, and in the Spanish times the power of the local authorities to direct free labor upon the roads for a certain period of time was so greatly abused and perverted to the seeking of personal vengeance and the private profit of the local authorities that it has been impossible to obtain any popular support for a system based on the same principle, and good roads have been allowed to go to destruction rather than to run the risk of a recurrence of the old abuses.

A difficulty in connection with the maintenance of roads may be mentioned here. The old-time method of transportation in the Philippines was by a carabao or oxcart with a rigid axle and with solid wheels, the rims of which were so narrow as to cut like a knife into any road over which they traveled. Laws have been passed from time to time imposing a penalty for using wheels on public roads with tires less than a certain width, but it has not been possible to secure such an administration of the law by the provincial governments as to prevent the continuance of this abuse, although means have been taken to furnish at a very reasonable rate sets of wheels

with tires of sufficient width to avoid road destruction. Local officials have been loath, when dependent for their continuance in office upon the votes of their fellow citizens, to enforce a law the wisdom of which they fully recognize, but the unpopularity of which they also know.

It has been found that sanitary measures can not be safely intrusted to municipal authorities for enforcement whenever emergencies arise, but that some local agency of the central government must be created for the purpose. At first full power was given to the municipality to determine by ordinance where cemeteries might be established, having regard to the health of the town. This proved a most convenient instrument for partisan abuse in the religious controversies arising between the Roman Catholics and the Aglipayans. An Aglipayan municipal council would require by ordinance the immediate closing of a Roman Catholic cemetery, although it was not in the least dangerous to health, and then would permit an Aglipayan cemetery much nearer the town and in a really objectionable place. Partisans of the Roman Church in control of other municipalities would abuse their powers in the same way. The consequence was that the central and provincial authorities had to be given direct supervisory control of this matter.

Another defect in many Filipino towns I have already referred to is the evil of caciquism. Too often the presidente and other town officers use their offices to subject the ignorant residents of their respective towns to their business control in the sale of farm products. The officer acts as the middle man in the sale and takes most of the profit from his constituent. The evil is hard to reach because the same power which compelled the sale can usually compel silence and no complaint is heard from the victims until, dimly realizing the injustice done them, they resort to criminal outbreaks and bloody vengeance. While it is too much to hope for the complete eradication of this abuse until the laborer shall acquire enough education to know his rights before the law and how to assert them, there has been much improvement in this regard since the American occupation.

The evil of caciquism shows itself in a more flagrant form when Filipino municipal or even provincial officials are vested with governmental control over non-Christian tribes, or others not of their own race, scattered through the Christian Filipino provinces. These people living in small settlements are slowly working toward a better civilization under the influence of education and are capable of much greater progress if properly treated. Such settlements were originally placed under the regular Filipino provincial and municipal governments within whose territorial jurisdiction they happened to be, but the abuses and oppression to which they were subjected necessitated an entirely different policy with respect to them and the organization of separate governments controlled directly from Manila under the interior department. Mr. Worcester, the secretary of the interior, has given especial attention to the care and development of these non-Christian tribes. It has been necessary to organize in Northern Luzon three or four subprovinces within the territorial limits of the Filipino Provinces and to secure the protection of the non-Christians by the appointment generally of an American lieutenant governor. This is also true in the Province of Misamis and

of Surigao, in Mindanao, where it was found impossible to induce the provincial officers to spend the money appropriated out of the insular treasury for the benefit of the people for educational and road improvements directed by the central authority. The fact that the recent, and for a time seemingly incurable, tendency to disturbance in Samar has grown out of a similar cause in that island I have already commented on in connection with another subject.

The city of Manila has not been given autonomous government. It is under the control of a municipal board of five persons appointed by the central government, and is governed therefore as Washington or the City of Mexico is governed. In the proper improvement of Manila some six or eight millions of dollars had to be expended, and much business experience and foresight were required to build the new waterworks and the new sewer system, to repave the streets, to canalize the esteros, or creeks, to organize an effective police force and a new fire department. It was thought that it would not be safe to intrust the conduct of such important business matters to a body selected by the electorate of Manila for the first time. The city of Manila has been well governed. Very large sums of money have been expended in most extensive improvements, and not the slightest scandal or dishonesty has been charged in any of the city administration. It has offered a most useful model for other municipalities in the islands to follow, and has lent her engineers, her policemen, and her firemen to other towns to help the latter to better organization.

This review of shortcomings in municipal governments in the Philippines should not have the effect of discouraging those who are interested in the success of the experiment. They should be reminded that in the United States municipal government has not been such a shining success. Moreover, the defects pointed out are not found in all Filipino towns. They have been referred to only to qualify properly the statement, which I do not hesitate to make, that autonomous municipal governments are making good progress and are gradually accomplishing the purposes for which they were created, though not so efficiently as with a people more used to governing themselves, more trained and educated in the assertion of their rights, and imbued with a higher standard of public duty. When those responsible for the policy of autonomy in municipal and provincial governments assert that it is progressing successfully, they find their words to be construed by enthusiastic theorists, who are convinced a priori of the complete fitness of the Filipinos to govern themselves, as completely establishing the correctness of their view; and when, on the other hand, they point out the defects in such local governments they meet the cry made by pessimists and by thick and thin adherents of the English crown-colony system that this is an admission of failure and a concession that we have gone far too fast in intrusting local governmental power of the Filipinos.

The truth, as I conceive it, lies between the two extreme positions, and while the policy adopted does not secure the best municipal government which might be secured under American agents, it does provide a fairly good government, with a training and experience and educational influence upon the people which is slowly but progressively curing the defects incident to a lack of political training and proper political ideals. The result indicates neither that the Filipinos

are fitted at once for complete self-government nor does it justify the view that they may not be ultimately made capable of complete self-government by a gradual extension of partial self-government as they may become more and more fit to exercise it.

When we come to the provincial governments, we naturally have to deal with a higher order of public servants, and although we here and there find the defects I have described as occurring in municipal governments, they are less glaring and less discouraging. The truth is, that with the guidance of the provincial treasurer, who is an American, and the sense of added responsibility that the presence of two Filipinos in the provincial board has instilled in them, the provincial officials begin to take pride in the good condition of their Province. This has been stimulated by close and constant correspondence between them and the central government at Manila, represented by the assistant executive secretary, Mr. Frank Carpenter, in which provincial matters are discussed, by an annual conference of provincial governors at Manila, and by conditional contributions from the central government to provincial funds for various forms of provincial efficiency, and is evidenced by the greater amounts devoted by the Provinces to the construction of public buildings, the repair and construction of roads and bridges, and by the husbanding of resources and the keeping down of salaries.

The system of examination of the finances of the municipalities and of the Provinces is now, as conducted in the islands, very complete, and in one large printed volume is published the balance sheet of every Province and of every municipality in the islands for each fiscal year, so that it is possible to take a bird's-eye view each year of the financial progress made in the management of each Province and town. The improvement in the financial condition of the Provinces over and above what it was four or five years ago itself speaks forcibly in favor of the progress which has been made by Filipinos in provincial government.

One of the early difficulties in provincial government already pointed out was the lack of tax resources, which prevented payment of adequate salaries or the making of much-needed improvements. With the sympathetic aid and suggestion of the central government, and by the voluntary assumption of greater taxes by the people, all the Provinces, save two or three, have made themselves self-supporting and have been enabled to pay good salaries. They differ largely in the amount of money that they have been able to devote to the construction of public buildings and to roads and bridges, but they are certainly beginning to appreciate the necessity for effort in this direction, and while they have refused thus far to adopt the system of a few days' enforced labor commutable by taxes, they are gradually coming to the adoption of a poll tax for public roads which in its essence and its alternatives will ultimately be an equivalent of such a system.

The report of the auditor of the islands shows a most gratifying improvement in the financial condition of the towns and Provinces for the last five years. While the financial condition is not invariably indicative of the general character of a municipal or provincial government a steady improvement in it from year to year is reasonably good evidence that matters of government are mending in every way.

The question of roads and bridges has not yet been solved in the Philippines. There remains yet an enormous amount of labor and capital to be expended for this purpose, but the seeds have been sown which I am convinced will lead, under the executive force and great interest of Mr. W. Cameron Forbes, the secretary of commerce and police, to the adoption of a caminero system of road repairs and maintenance which will make the intercommunication by wagon road between the various parts of the various islands satisfactory. I shall not stop to dwell on the great inherent difficulty that there is in the construction and repair of roads in the Philippines. The absence of suitable material and the destructive effect of every wet season sufficiently account for the present unsatisfactory condition in this respect. The principle rigidly adopted and enforced now is, however, that no bridge and no public building shall be constructed of anything but permanent materials—either concrete, hardwood, or metal—or iron or steel, and that no road shall be built except in a manner which shall enable local authorities, with reasonable expense, to keep it in permanent repair. In times past the necessity for haste and supposed economy has led to the use of softer woods and temporary methods of construction, which are now turning out to be much more costly than if the original expenditure had been greater.

CIVIL SERVICE.

The organization and maintenance of the central government were directed not only with a view to its efficiency but also to its educational effect upon the Philippine people. This is shown in the appointment of three Filipinos to constitute three-eighths of the insular legislature, as well as by the opportunity offered to Filipinos to enter the civil service under a civil-service law embodying the merit system. In the beginning it was difficult to work Filipinos into the bureaus of the central government, because few of them knew English and fewer understood the American business and official methods, which, of course, obtained in the new government. As the years went on, however, under great pressure from the commission, the proportion of Filipinos in the service was increased from year to year. Many natives had learned English and had shown an increasing aptitude for the work of the civil service. Still in many of the bureaus the progress of Filipinos to the most responsible places is necessarily slow, and the proportion of them to be found in the positions of high salaries is not as large as it ought to be in the near future. The winnowing-out process, however, is steadily reducing the American employees in the civil service. It has become a body of highly deserving, faithful public servants, whom, it is hoped, the Philippine Government will make permanent provision for by secure tenure for a certain number of years with a reasonable retiring pension.

As was inevitable in the complete organization of a government effected within a few months, experience indicated that greater economy might be secured by a reduction in the number of bureaus and bureau chiefs, by the consolidation of offices and bureaus, and by the still further substitution of competent Filipinos for higher-priced Americans.

It is now nearly three years ago, therefore, since a committee of insular officials with Commissioner Forbes as chairman was appointed to make a vigorous investigation into the entire governmental system. The committee made radical recommendations as to curtailment, most of which were adopted and resulted in a very material decrease in the cost of government and increase in the proportion of Filipino employees.

In the department of justice, including the judiciary, the proportion of Filipinos had always been high. The chief justice of the supreme court and two of his associates were Filipinos, while nearly half of the judges of the courts of first instance were also natives. All but two of the prosecuting attorneys in the 35 provinces, all the justices of the peace, and nearly all the court officers were Filipinos. For two years the attorney general of the islands has been a Filipino.

The changes in the proportion of Filipino civil servants to the whole number from year to year can be seen in the following table:

	Americans.	Filipinos.
1901.....	2,044	2,562
1902 ¹		
1903.....	2,777	2,697
1904.....	3,228	3,377
1905.....	3,307	4,023
1906 ¹		
1907.....	2,616	3,902

¹ Statistics not available.

CIVIL RIGHTS.

Before discussing the provision for the national assembly and its influences, educational and otherwise, I must refer to the effort of President McKinley to extend to the Filipinos the guaranties of life, liberty, and property, secured by the Federal Constitution to those within Federal jurisdiction. The guaranties assured in the instructions of Mr. McKinley included all those of the Federal Constitution except the right to bear arms and to trial by jury.

The right to bear arms is one that can not safely yet be extended to the people of the Philippines, because there are among those people men given to violence, who with the use of arms would at once resort to ladronism as a means of livelihood. The temptation would be too great and ought not to be encouraged. Nor are the people fit for the introduction of a jury system. Not yet has any considerable part of the community become sufficiently imbued with the sense of responsibility for the government and with its identification with the government. This responsibility and identification are necessary before jurors can sit impartially between society and the prisoner at the bar. Without it they are certain always to release the prisoner and to sympathize with him in the prosecution against him. The fair treatment of the prisoner is sufficiently secured in a country never having had a jury trial by the absolute right of appeal from the decision of a single judge to the decision of seven judges, with a writ of error thence to the Supreme Court of the United States. It may be that in the future it will seem wise gradually to provide for a jury in various classes of cases, but at present it would be premature.

The civil rights conferred by Mr. McKinley's instructions were expressly confirmed by the organic act of July 1, 1902. It has been the purpose of the Philippine government to make the extension of these rights a real thing and a benefit for the poorer Filipino, and progress is being made in this direction. The great obstacle to it arises from the ignorance of the people themselves as to what their rights are and their lack of knowledge as to how those rights may be asserted.

The work of impressing a knowledge of these things upon the people goes, however, rapidly on, and with the education in English of a new generation and their succession to the electorate, we can be certain that the spread of education as to popular rights and the means of maintaining them will be wider and wider, until we can have a whole community who know their rights and, knowing, dare maintain them.

Charges have been made that the existing Philippine government has not properly preserved these guaranties of civil rights. It is true that the commission has, in effect, suspended these guaranties in a condition equivalent to one of war in some of the provinces, and has been sustained in so doing by the supreme court of the islands and of the United States. It is also true that during a condition equivalent to war the commission provided that no one should advocate independence, even by peaceable means, because agents of insurrection were inciting actual violence under the guise of such peaceable propaganda. With the coming of peace, the statute ceased to have effect. To-day, however, the writ of habeas corpus runs without obstruction. The liberty of the press and of free speech is real. There is no censorship of the press and no more limitation upon its editors than there is in the city of Washington. The publication of criminal libel or seditious language calculated and intended to cause public riot and disturbance is punishable in Manila and the Philippines as it is in many of the States of the Union. This freedom of discussion and this opportunity to criticize the government educate the people in a political way and enable them more intelligently to exercise their political rights.

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

In recommending to Congress the provision for a national assembly contained in the organic act of the Philippine government, Secretary Root and the commission were moved by the hope and belief that the promise in the act, conditioned, as its fulfillment was, on the existence of peace in the islands, would stimulate activity on the part of all Filipinos having political ambition to bring about tranquility. In this respect, as already pointed out, the result has abundantly vindicated their judgment. They were further moved by the conviction that this step toward greater popular self-government would strengthen the hands of the government by securing from the people readier acquiescence in, and greater obedience to, measures which their representatives had joined in passing, than when they were the decrees of an alien government. They further believed that by means of the assembly much more exact and practical knowledge of the needs of the country would be brought to the

law-making power than in any other way. Finally, they thought that the inauguration of such an assembly would be a most important step in the main plan or policy of educating Filipinos in the science and practice of popular representative government. They were aware of the possible danger that this was a step too far in advance. They did not deny that on the part of a number elected there would be a strong inclination to obstruct the smooth working of existing government on lines of political and material progress. They anticipated the probability that in the first assembly elected the majority would be in favor of immediate independence; but in spite of all this they were clear in their forecast that the responsibilities of power would have both a sobering and educational effect that would lead ultimately to conservatism of action and to strengthen the existing government.

Let us now consider what has happened in the electoral campaign for the assembly and in its early life as a legislative body.

The powerful influence for good and for peace exercised by the Federal Party in the period just after Mr. McKinley's second election I have dwelt upon at another place. The main purpose and principle of the party was peace under the sovereignty of the United States. In drafting a platform its leaders had formulated a plank favoring the organization of the islands into a Territory of the United States, with a view to its possibly becoming a State. From this plank it took its name. In the first two or three years after its successful effort to bring on peace many prominent Filipinos having political ambition became members, and in the gubernatorial elections the great majority of governors elected were Federals. And so substantially all who filled prominent offices in the government by appointment, including the judges, were of that party. Then dissension arose among prominent leaders and some withdrew from the party. The natural opposition to a government party led to the organization of other parties, especially among those known as *Intransigentes*. The Federal Party had founded an organ, the *Democracia*, early in its existence. The opponents of the government, looking to immediate independence, founded a paper called the *Renacimiento*. The latter was edited with especial ability and with a partisan spirit against the American Government.

For two years before the election of the assembly the Filipinos who sympathized with the *Renacimiento* were perfecting their organization to secure a majority in the assembly. Many groups were formed, but they all were known as the *Partido Nacionalista*. There was some difference as to whether to this title should be added the word "*inmediatista*," but the great majority favored it. The party is generally known as the *Nacionalista Party*. During much of these same two years the Federal Party was dormant. The proposition for statehood did not awaken enthusiasm anywhere. Many of the leaders were in office, and felt no necessity for vigorous action. The quarrel between some of the directors had given the party paralysis. The party was not organized for political controversy with another party at the polls. It was merely an organization to give effective resultant force to the overwhelming feeling in favor of peace under United States sovereignty, and it was not adapted to a political fight on issues that were not in existence when it was at the height of its power

for usefulness. On the other hand, in the Federal Party were many of the ablest and most conservative of the Filipinos, and it seemed wise that this nucleus should be used to form a party that represented conservatism on the issue as to independence, which the opponents of the government determined to force into the campaign for members of the assembly. It was an issue hardly germane to the subject matter within the jurisdiction of the assembly, but it had to be met. The issue whether the islands should have immediate independence turned on the question whether the Filipino people are now fit for complete self-government. Upon this question it was entirely natural that the burden should fall upon those who asserted the negative, and it is not strange that the electors, or a majority of them, should believe themselves and by their votes decide themselves to be competent.

Some six months before the elections there sprung from the ashes of the Federal Party a party which, rejecting the statehood idea, declared itself in favor of making the Philippines an independent nation by gradual and progressive acquisition of governmental control until the people should become fitted by education and practice under American sovereignty to enjoy and maintain their complete independence. It was called the Partido Nacionalista Progresista. It is generally known as the Progresista Party. The Progresista leaders were late in the field and were somewhat at a disadvantage on this account; but after they entered the fight they were energetic and vigorous. They did not mince words. They took the position fully and flatly that the people of the Philippines were not fitted for immediate independence and complete self-government and needed much education and experience before they should become so. It was natural to suppose that the cry of complete fitness for self-government was the popular one and that it would attract votes. This impression showed itself in a somewhat amusing way. The first independence party, as I have said, called itself the Partido Nacionalista Inmediatista. The title and organization were not radical enough for a group that broke away and called itself Partido Nacionalista Urgentissima, which was supposed to indicate a party whose yearning for independence was greater than that of those who wished it immediately. This was followed by the organization of a new group who showed that they were not to be outdone in the fervor and anxiety with which they sought independence and votes for their candidates by calling their party Partido Nacionalista Explosivista.

The campaign in the last two or three months was carried on with great vigor. The Nacionalistas had the advantage of being understood to be against the government. This, with a people like the Filipino people, who had been taught to regard the government as an entity separate from the people, taxing them and prosecuting them, was in itself a strong reason for popular sympathy and support. The Progresistas were denounced as a party of officeholders. The government was denounced as extravagant and burdensome to the people. In many districts the Nacionalista candidates promised that if they were returned immediate independence would follow. There were quite a number of candidates in country and remote districts where the controversy was not heated who did not declare them-

selves on the main question, and maintained an independence of any party. They were known as Independientes. Then, there were other Independientes who declared themselves independent of party, but in favor of immediate independence.

The elections were held on July 30. Members were elected from 80 districts into which the Christian Filipino Provinces were divided. The result of the canvass was the election of 16 Progresistas, 1 Catolico, 20 Independientes, 31 Nacionalistas, 7 Inmediatistas, 4 Independistas, and 1 Nacionalista Independiente, in all 80 members.

The total vote registered and cast did not exceed 104,000, although in previous gubernatorial elections the total vote had reached nearly 150,000. The high vote at the latter elections may be partly explained by the fact that at the same elections town officers were elected, and the personal interest of many candidates drew out a larger number of electors. But the falling off was also in part due, doubtless, to the timidity of conservative voters, who, because of the heat of the campaign, preferred to avoid taking sides. This is not a permanent condition, however, and I doubt not that the meeting of the assembly and the evident importance of its functions when actually performed will develop a much greater popular interest in it, and the total vote will be largely increased at the next election.

I opened the assembly in your name. The roll of the members returned on the face of the record was called. An appropriate oath was administered to all the members and the assembly organized by selecting Señor Sergio Osmeña as its speaker or presiding officer. Señor Osmeña has been one of the most efficient fiscals, or prosecuting attorneys, in the islands, having conducted the government prosecutions in the largest Province of the islands, the Province and Island of Cebu. He was subsequently elected governor, and by his own activity in going into every part of the island he succeeded in enlisting the assistance of all the people in suppressing ladronism, which had been rife in the mountains of Cebu for 30 or 40 years, so that to-day there is absolute peace and tranquillity throughout the island. He is a young man not 30, but of great ability, shrewdness, high ideals, and yet very practical in his methods of dealing with men and things. The assembly could have done nothing which indicated its good sense so strongly as the selection of Señor Osmeña as its presiding officer.

Many successful candidates for the assembly seem to have embraced the cause of the Inmediatistas without having thought out deliberately any plan by which a policy of immediate independence could be carried out. They joined the party and united in its cry because it was a popular one and because they thought that this was an easy method of being elected, or rather because they thought that without this, election would be difficult. When the assembly met it was quite apparent that the great majority were much more anxious to vindicate their election as a dignified, common-sense, patriotic branch of the legislature by a conservative course than to maintain consistency between their acts as legislators and their anteelection declarations. There are, of course, some members who are likely at times to make speeches containing violent language, but on the whole there seemed to be during my stay in the islands, of two or three weeks after the organization of the assembly, a very earnest wish that the assembly

should show the conservatism which many of us believe exists in the Philippine people, rather than it should give a weapon to the enemies of the people and popular government by extravagance and useless violence of speech.

Since I left the islands the assembly has voted for two resident commissioners to represent the islands at Washington as provided in the organic act of the Philippine government. These commissioners are elected by the assembly and the commission sitting in separate session. The two candidates tendered by the assembly to the commission and accepted by the latter were Mr. Benito Legarda, at present one of the Filipino Commissioners, and Mr. Pablo Ocampo, of Manila. Mr. Legarda is one of the founders of the Federal Party and a Progresista. He has been many times in the United States and speaks English. He is one of the most prominent and successful business men in the islands and a public-spirited citizen of high character. Mr. Ocampo was an active sympathizer with the insurrection and acted as its treasurer. He was deported to the island of Guam by the military authorities in the days of the military government. He is a prominent and able member of the bar of the islands and a man of high character. He took part in the organization of the Nacionalista Party, which he wished to have called Unionista. He is understood to have objected to the word "immediatista" and to have withdrawn from the party on that account.

As a shibboleth—as a party cry—immediate independence has much force, because it excites the natural pride of the people, but few of their number have ever worked out its consequences, and when they have done so they have been willing to postpone that question until some of the immediate needs of the people have been met. I may be wrong, but my judgment is that the transfer of real power by giving to the people part of the legislative control of the Christian provinces sobers their leaders with the sense of responsibility and teaches them some of the practical difficulties of government. They wish to vindicate their view in respect to their fitness to govern themselves completely by exercising the power of the Government which has been accorded to them in a way to make the people of the United States and of the world believe that when greater power is extended, they may be trusted to exercise that with equal discretion and conservative common sense. They are now a real part of the government of the islands. Nothing can be done affirmatively without the consent of the assembly. They have been through one election and have made election promises. Many of those promises, such as the promises of immediate independence, were of course entirely beyond the authority of the promisers. When they go back to their constituents at the next election they will find facing them not only their ante-election promises, but also responsibility for legislation and failure to legislate which will introduce new issues of a practical character, and will necessitate explanation and a caution of statement that was entirely absent in the first campaign. All this can not but have a wholesome effect upon the politics of the Filipinos and the Philippines. I do not for a moment guarantee that there will not at times be radical action by the assembly, which can not meet the approval of those who understand the legislative needs of the islands, but all I wish to say is that the organization and beginning of the

life of the assembly have disappointed its would-be critics and have given great encouragement to those who were responsible for its extension of political power.

The Inmediatistas, having a majority in the assembly, are prone to divide into groups. The Independientes are organizing as a party, drawing tighter party lines, and at times act with the Progresistas, who, with their 17 votes, are enjoying the advantage of the minority party in maintaining a solidarity and party discipline that it is impossible for the leaders of the majority and the controlling party to attain. It would not be surprising if at the next election there should be a readjustment of party lines and division on other issues than those which controlled at the first election.

While I was in the islands provincial elections were held at which were elected governors and third members of the provincial boards. The elections were held on party lines. The total vote exceeded that at the assembly by more than 50 per cent. Of the governors elected, 15 were Nacionalista and 15 were Progresista. Of the third members, 15 were Nacionalista, 13 were Progresista, and 2 were of unknown party affiliation. From this it would seem that the Nacionalista victory in the assembly election should not be taken as an assurance that a permanent majority of the electors will continue to favor immediate independence.

The assembly has shown a most earnest desire, and its leaders have expressed with the utmost emphasis their intention, to labor for the material prosperity of the Philippines and to encourage the coming of capital and the development of the various plans for the improvement of the agriculture and business of the islands, which have commended themselves to those in the past responsible for the government there. In other words, thus far the assembly has not manifested in any way that obstructive character which those who have prophesied its failure expected to see, and who in this respect, paradoxical as it may appear, are equally disappointed with those anti-imperialists who have hopefully looked to the assembly as a means of embarrassing the present government.

The organization of the assembly is one of the great steps in the education of the Filipino people for complete self-government. One of the assumptions which must be guarded against, but which we always encounter, is that the conservative and successful use by the people of an instrumentality like that of the national assembly is convincing proof of the people to enjoy greater power and reason for an instantaneous granting of that power. This is at variance with the theory upon which the power is granted. That theory is that the use of such an instrument is valuable chiefly as a means of educating those who use it to the knowledge of how it ought to be used and to conservatism in its use. The fact that on receiving it the people use it conservatively is by no means sufficient proof that if it were not subject to ultimate control, guidance, and restraint by the agents of the United States it might not be misused. It is most encouraging to find it conservatively used and vindicates those who urged its adoption, but it is far from demonstrating that this conservative use, subject to the limitations upon its power which now exist and which have a necessary tendency to make its use conservative, would be preserved under conditions in which those limitations

were entirely removed. The moderate use of such an assembly for a reasonable time may properly form a ground for the greater extension of power and the removal of some of the limitations. Progress in such a matter to be safe must be gradual.

I can not refrain from saying at this point that the attitude of the national assembly has been much influenced by the confidence that the members and the Filipino people have in the sense of justice and impartiality of Gov. Gen. Smith and the deep sympathy which they know he feels in their welfare and in their hopes of continued progress. He knows the Filipino people better than any other American, and he spares no effort to reconcile their real needs and their earnest desires.

I have reviewed the history of the governmental organization in order to show the consistency of the American Government in adhering to the policy laid down by President McKinley, of gradually extending self-government to the Filipinos as they shall show themselves fit. We first, therefore, have the autonomy of the municipality, restrained by the disciplinary action of the Governor General, the restraint upon the expenditure of its funds by the provincial treasurers, and the audit of its funds by the central authority; second, the partial autonomy of the provincial governments in the election of a governor, the more complete autonomy by the constitution of the provincial board of two elective members out of three, the restraint upon the board by the presence of a member of the provincial board appointed by the governor, the visitatorial powers of the Governor General for disciplinary purposes in respect of the provincial officers, the restraining influence and assistance of the central constabulary force, the modification of complete American central control by the introduction of three appointed Filipinos into the commission, followed after five years by the inauguration of a completely popular elective assembly to exercise equal legislative power with the commission. This progressive policy has justified itself in many ways, and especially in the restoration of order, to which I have already referred.

SANITATION.

There is always present in every picture of Philippine progress as painted by those who have not carefully investigated the facts a somber background of a baneful climate, making it impossible for the American or European to live in health and strength in the islands for any length of time. It is true that the islands are in the Tropics and that the variations in temperature are only about a third as much in extent as in the Temperate Zone, but for a tropical climate that of the Philippines is exceptionally comfortable and healthful. The monsoons blow six months from southwest across the islands and six months from the northeast, so that they are constantly windswept. This makes a radical difference between the climate of the islands and that of the lowlands of India, for instance. The last two decades, especially the latter, have taught us much in respect to tropical diseases, their causes, their proper treatment, and the best method of avoiding them. This was one of the most valuable results of the Spanish War.

In his address as president of the Philippine Medical Association in March, 1905, Dr. John R. McDill, who came first to the islands as a leading Army surgeon and who left the Army to carry on a most successful practice in Manila, said:

We have come to esteem to the utmost the climate which so effectually guards many of you against the too strenuous life and which is almost ideal eight months in the year, even in Manila. Our professional experience has proven that, excepting some intestinal disorders which we are rapidly preventing and curing, and a limited amount of epidemic infectious diseases, there is nothing unusual about the kind or amount of disease encountered here or its successful treatment when hospital care is available. The surgeon's work has fully demonstrated that ideal wound healing and convalescence after operation is as much the rule here as anywhere in the world. We physicians also know that, and appreciate that the dread diseases of childhood so prevalent at home are rare here, and that of all the ills, particularly among women, from real bodily ailments to a poor complexion, for which the climate is usually blamed, the great majority are hereditary or acquired, were brought here by the patient and often aggravated by careless and unhygienic living. For old people and children the climate is an earthly elysium. * * * With the improved and constantly improving conditions of living, we believe that almost all will agree that by observing the normal and moral life healthy Americans can live about as long here and enjoy as good health and do as much good and hard work more than three-fourths of the year as we could in the homeland.

The death rate among American soldiers in the Philippines for the last year was 8.5 per thousand, and the previous year 8.65. Gen. Wood reports that the size of the sick report can not be properly charged to the climate, that, taken as a whole, the reports for the years indicate a decided improvement in health conditions, and that the men leaving the islands after a regular tour of more than two years present a far better appearance than those of the incoming.

The death rate among American civilians in Manila for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, was 5.59 per thousand, a reduction from the previous year. The death rate among Filipinos this year in Manila was 36.9 per thousand and among Spaniards 15.84, both reductions from the previous year.

During the decade of our stay in the islands, the conditions of life for Americans have steadily bettered. We have become acquainted with hygienic methods of living, and the death rate of Americans of the same social conditions in the Philippines is certainly not greater than in the cities of the Southern States, and is, as we have seen, very much less than that among Filipinos.

If the United States is to continue its governmental relations with the Philippines for more than a generation, and its business and social relations indefinitely, the fact that Americans can live healthful lives in the Philippines is important of itself; but I have cited these statistics and this expert opinion to show more than this—I believe that it has an important bearing upon another kind of progress possible among the Filipino people, and that it opens another important field of education for the American Government to cultivate in the islands.

No one can be in the Philippines long without realizing that as a race the Filipinos are small of stature, slight of frame and flesh, and with small powers of resistance to epidemic diseases. It has been supposed that because of their nativity the Filipinos were not subject to the malarial, intestinal, and dysenteric troubles that afflict Americans and Europeans, and that measures taken to avoid or cure

such troubles in the case of the foreigner were unnecessary and superfluous with the Filipinos. Recent investigations of a systematic kind, carried on by keeping comparative statistics of all the official autopsies made in the islands, seem to show that the assumption that the Filipinos are immune from the forms of disease I have mentioned is without foundation. The autopsies of 100 cases showed in a great majority the germs of malaria, of amebic dysentery, and that microbe of the so-called "lazy" disease of Porto Rico known as the "hookworm." It is true that the diseases were not active or acute, but their presence in the system, of course, weakened the constitution of the subject and could easily explain his anemic condition, his smallness of stature, and small powers of resistance. Malaria, of course, is produced or at least transmitted by the mosquito, while amebic dysentery and the "lazy" disease are water-borne and proceed directly from the miserable sources of water supply in most Filipino towns. Proper precautions can avoid all these, or at least can greatly reduce the number of victims.

In Manila, 60 per cent of all infants born die during the first year of their lives, and there is no reason to believe that infant mortality in other parts of the islands is less. This frightful percentage is brought about by ignorance and neglect of the mothers in feeding their babies. There are very few if any milch cows in the islands, and the little ones are fed with all sorts of impossible things. They die generally of a lack of nourishment. There is no reason why, if the mothers were correctly taught and proper infant food were brought within the reach of the poor, this awful rate of infant mortality might not be reduced. Not only is there an actual loss of life which might be avoided, but the babies which live through such treatment and nourishment are not apt to make strong men and women, but are likely to become victims of anæmia and other diseases mentioned as shown in the autopsies I have referred to.

I do not think it is unjust to the Spanish régime in the Philippines to say that very little if any attention was paid to sanitation according to modern methods. In the city of Manila and in the other large towns of the islands the American military medical authorities, who were the first to assume responsibility for the health of the islands, found the same utter disregard of the proper rules for the disposition of house sewage that was found in Habana. Thousands, yes, tens of thousands, of Filipinos were carried off year after year by a peculiarly virulent type of smallpox.

In Manila, in Cebu, and in Nueva Caceres, respectively, were leper hospitals, but in each the management was inefficient and the care of the inmates poor. More than this, no supervision was exercised to isolate lepers not in hospitals. Sometimes the poor creatures were driven out of villages by popular riots and herded together with no proper food and no shelter. The contact of lepers with the people of course only increased the number of cases of the dread disease.

In 1885 or 1886 the islands were visited by an epidemic of cholera and the prostration of the people of Manila and the Philippines, due to the rapid spread of the scourge, beggared description. In Manila the deaths were 1,000 or more a day from that cause alone for a number of weeks. The trade proximity of Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu to China, India, Java, Burma, and the Straits Settlements, makes the

danger of transmitting tropical and other infectious diseases very much greater.

Quarantine in Spanish times was lax. The American Army medical authorities took hold of the matter of sanitation in their usual vigorous way and made much progress in the matter of quarantine and in correcting the glaringly insanitary conditions in Manila. But it remained for the civil government to effect a thorough organization of a health department which could do permanent good.

The introduction of sanitary methods by law among the people has given rise to more dissatisfaction and greater criticism of the government than any other one cause. The truth is that the people have to be educated in the effectiveness of such methods before they can become reconciled to them, and the work of the health department since the beginning of the civil government in 1901 has been obstructed, first, by the inertia and indifference of the people in respect to the matter and, second, by their active resistance to affirmative restraints upon them necessary to prevent disease.

The fight against smallpox has been so successful that in the past year not a single death from it occurred in Manila, and in the Provinces of Cavite, Batangas, Cebu, Rizal, La Bataan, La Laguna, and La Union, where heretofore there have been approximately 6,000 deaths per year, not one was reported. In the few places in other Provinces where smallpox appeared it made little headway. More than 2,000,000 vaccinations against smallpox were performed last year, and vaccination is being carried on so that it will reach every inhabitant of the islands.

In 1902 Asiatic cholera appeared. The loss the first year by reason of the methods introduced was much less than it had been 15 or 16 years before, but great difficulty was encountered in putting into force the health regulations and a futile attempt was made to establish quarantine between localities in the islands. Since that time a better system of isolation and stamping out the disease in the locality where it appeared has been followed, and it is gratifying to note that, although the dread disease appeared each year, it was finally brought to an end on November 27, 1906, and the authorities now feel that the people have been so thoroughly roused to the best methods of treating the disease that any local reappearance of it can be readily suppressed.

In 1902 or 1903 the bubonic plague appeared in the islands. This has been suppressed by the isolation of all persons suffering from the disease and the destruction of plague-infected rats so that during the last year there were no cases of bubonic plague whatever.

When the Americans first began government in the Philippines it was reported that leprosy was so widely extended in the islands that there were probably from 25,000 to 50,000 lepers to be cared for. After many unsuccessful efforts a leper colony has finally been established at Culion, a healthful and attractive island between Panay and Palawan, to which all the lepers of the islands are now being gradually removed. The number probably does not exceed 3,000. The course pursued is to take each Province separately and by thorough investigation of the reported cases of lepers determine those of true leprosy and to remove them thence to the colony of Culion. The experiment at first was a doubtful one because of the

objection of the lepers to being taken so far away from their homes, and some of the friends of lepers made vigorous objections to this course. After the removal of the first 500, however, and when they found how comfortable and agreeable life at Culion was, the objections ceased. Leprosy, as a disease, usually does not directly kill its victims, but it so weakens the powers of their resistance that the rate of mortality from other causes among lepers is very high. The system of isolation and withdrawing lepers from the thickly populated communities has been at once justified by the reduction in the number of new cases. The number of known lepers in the archipelago on September 1, 1905, was 3,580; on June 30, 1907, it was 2,826, a decrease of 654, due to the death of the known lepers without any spread of the disease as had been the case in previous years and under different conditions. The policy of removal of lepers is one which can only be carried out gradually and has been applied only to a part of the Provinces, but it will probably be completed in three or four years when all the lepers will be removed to Culion and the effect of this isolation will certainly be to reduce the infection of healthful persons with the awful disease to a minimum.

The fruitful source of the spread of amœbic dysentery is the drinking of impure water. The water supply of Manila is drawn from the Mariquina River after it has passed through three or four thickly populated towns, and an immense amount of trouble and labor has been expended in trying to preserve the river from contamination by these towns. Military forces have been picketed along the banks and the most stringent regulations have been enforced against the inhabitants. Much has been accomplished in this matter, but still the water is dangerous to drink unless boiled and filtered. With a view to the removal of this difficulty, new waterworks are in the process of building at a cost to the city of Manila of about two millions of dollars. The water is to be drawn from a point very much farther up the Mariquina River, at a distance of about 25 miles from Manila, and is to be accumulated in a reservoir by damming the river at a point where nature apparently intended a dam to be put. Pure mountain water will thus be obtained, which is to be carried to the city of Manila simply by the power of gravity. The new improvement is 80 per cent done and water will flow into the city probably by July of 1908. In addition to this a new sewer system has been projected and is under construction in the city of Manila and 18 miles of the deep and main trunk sewers have been laid in the city. The mileage of the remainder of the sewers is very much greater, but the engineer estimates that about half of the work has been done. The project contemplates the establishment of reservoirs and the pumping of sewage out into the bay at such a distance as to prevent its retaining any noxious character. The difficulty of sewerage Manila can be understood when it is known that the level of the ground in the city is only a few feet above high-water mark. With the completion of the water and sewer systems and the canalization of the esteros or canals, with which the city is threaded, a work which is projected and which will cost about \$400,000, there is no doubt that Manila will become as healthful a tropical city as there is in the world.

The very high death rate in the city is due to the frightful mortality among the native infants under 1 year of age already alluded to.

The absence of pure milk for babes in the Philippines accounts for a good deal of this mortality, and a charitable organization has been established for the circulation at reasonable cost of milk for infants among both the poor and rich classes. The destruction of all the horned cattle by rinderpest has reduced the supply of milk and made it expensive. This adds greatly to the difficulty presented. The lack of nourishment makes the child an easy victim to any disease, and until Filipino mothers are taught properly to bring up their children we may expect this infant mortality to continue, but it is subject to cure, and the methods adopted by the government and the charitable organizations, including the churches, whose interest is aroused, may be depended on to bring about a reform in this matter.

It is a fact that throughout the islands too, a great deal of the mortality, among both children and adults, is due to water-borne diseases. The supply of water in each village is generally contaminated and noxious. The government has taken steps to induce every town to sink artesian wells for the purpose of giving its inhabitants pure water. Several well-boring machines have been purchased by the government and have been offered to the towns for use by them on condition of their supplying the fuel and the labor necessary. Wherever artesian wells have been sunk and a good supply of water found, the death rate in the town has been reduced 50 per cent. With a knowledge of the effectiveness of this remedy, it is certain that the government will continue to press upon the towns the necessity of the comparatively small expenditure necessary to secure proper water, for it appears that in most towns in the islands artesian water is available.

There is no reason why the whole Filipino race may not be made stronger and better by the pursuit of proper sanitary methods with respect to the ordinary functions of life. The spread of education, the knowledge of cause and effect in this matter, together with the sympathetic assistance and regulation of the government are all that is needed to rid the Filipino of the obstructions to bodily growth and strength which injurious microbes and bacteria living in the body now create. The bureau of health and the bureau of science, which has actively aided the bureau of health in the investigations made, have now commended themselves to the Filipino people in such a way that there is every reason to hope that the foundation for better health in the islands has been permanently laid.

The Government has this year established and begun a Government medical school, the faculty of which is made up partly of Filipinos and partly of Americans, and the most modern methods of instruction are projected. A fine laboratory, already erected near the place where the medical school building is to be constructed, and a general government hospital in the immediate neighborhood will furnish a nucleus for the study of tropical diseases and the proper methods of sanitation. The graduates of this college as they grow in number and spread all over the islands into regions most of which have never known a physician at all will greatly contribute to the physical change and development for the better of the Filipino.

The health department has been exceedingly expensive, and the amount taken from the treasury each year has been subject to much criticism, but the results are so gratifying that even the most cap-

tious seems now willing to admit that the expenditure was wise, prudent, and justified. A most thorough quarantine has been established and maintained under the auspices of the United States Public Health and Marine Hospital Service in the ports of entry in the islands.

As is well understood now, the mosquito is the means of communicating malaria and yellow fever and other diseases. It is supposed that the *Stegomyia* mosquito, which carries the yellow fever, is found in the Philippines, although no case of the fever has ever occurred in the islands. The importance of the mosquito in the Philippines is confined to malaria at present. Varieties of the insect carrying most malignant malaria are found to generate in the salt-water marshes, though ordinarily it has been supposed that the *Anopheles* mosquito conveying malaria generated only in fresh water. The wet season seems to interfere with the operations of the mosquito by throwing so much water into the streams as to prevent the stagnation necessary to their successful propagation. A singular instance of this is found in the old walled city of Manila. The old walled city has a sewer system for storm or surface-water drainage. During the wet season there is practically no malaria in the walled city, but during the dry season there is a great deal. It has been found that in the dry season in the absence of rainy weather the sewers contain stagnant pools in which the *Anopheles* mosquito is generated in great numbers and thus carries on his business of conveying malaria from one inhabitant of the walled city to another, whereas in the rainy season the sewers are flushed all the time and there is no opportunity for the mosquito to propagate. Measures have now been taken to flush the sewers of the walled city in the dry season and rid the inhabitants of this pest until the new sewer system shall be put in operation, when the evil can be entirely eradicated.

BENGUET, A HEALTH RESORT.

In all the tropical countries in which civilized government has been established and progress made toward the betterment of conditions of human life, places have been found and settlements effected in high altitudes where the conditions approximate in atmosphere and climate those of the Temperate Zone. This is true in India, in Ceylon, in Java, and wherever there are neighboring mountains which offer the opportunity.

The Philippines are fortunate in having a territory in Luzon in the mountains of an altitude ranging from 4,500 to 7,000 feet, a rolling country filled with groves of pine trees and grass, in which the temperature rarely goes below 40° and never goes above 80° in the shade. The Province containing most of this territory is called "Benguet." Similar climate is found in the adjoining Provinces of Lepanto and Bontoc. The railway from Manila to Dagupan has now been extended to what is called "Camp No. 1," a distance of 22 miles from Baguio, the chief town in Benguet, where is the government sanitarium and other places of resort and cure. At the cost of about two millions of dollars, the Government has constructed a fine road up the gorge of the Bued River to a height of 5,000 feet. The work would probably never have been entered upon, had it been

supposed that it would be so costly, but now that it is done, and well done, the advantages accruing and soon to accrue justify the expenditure.

The representatives of all the churches in the islands have taken lots and are putting up buildings, hospitals of various kinds are to be erected, there is a sanitarium, the commission holds part of its sessions there, and it is hoped that the assembly will see fit to do the same thing. A great many Filipinos recuperate by going to Japan or Europe, but here within easy distance of Manila will be offered an opportunity where the same kind of revitalizing atmosphere may be found as in a temperate climate. The Filipinos were at first disposed to criticise the expenditure on the ground that the road was built solely for the few American officials who expected to live there a large part of their time. The lots were offered at public auction and a great many were purchased by Filipinos, and now it is generally understood that the value of such a place in the Philippine Islands has impressed itself upon the Filipino public at large. The present necessity is the construction of a railroad from Camp No. 1 directly into Baguio and steps have been taken to bring this about. A large military reservation has been set aside which it is hoped may be made into a brigade post for the recuperation of our soldiers while in the Philippines. The railroad is likely to have the patronage of those who spend part of their time at Baguio, going and coming from Manila and other parts of the islands, and also with the construction of a good hotel in Manila and another one at Baguio there is not the slightest reason to doubt that a large tourist patronage will be invited for both places. Meantime the health-giving influence of the climate at Baguio can not but exercise a good effect upon the young Filipinos who may be sent there to be educated and upon those Filipinos who have been subject to tropical diseases and have the time and means for visiting this mountain resort. With the construction of a railroad, transportation to Baguio may be made exceedingly reasonable and sanitariums built which will furnish for very moderate cost a healthful regimen and diet. Benguet is really a part of the system of government sanitation and may properly be mentioned in connection with it here.

Comparative mortality from Jan. 1, 1901, to Sept. 30, 1907.

Month.	1901		1902		1903		1904	
	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.
January.....	753	1 36.25	760	1 36.58	602	1 28.98	796	2 42.64
February.....	689	1 36.72	706	1 37.63	511	1 27.23	709	2 40.59
March.....	885	1 42.66	770	1 37.06	539	1 25.94	751	2 40.23
April.....	886	1 44.07	1,327	1 66.01	549	1 27.31	748	2 41.40
May.....	903	1 43.47	1,688	1 81.26	770	1 37.06	766	2 41.03
June.....	621	1 30.89	1,418	1 70.54	592	1 29.45	800	2 44.28
July.....	608	1 29.27	2,223	1 107.02	620	2 33.21	866	2 46.39
August.....	702	1 33.79	1,712	1 82.42	862	2 46.17	1,032	2 55.28
September.....	767	1 38.15	1,132	1 56.31	1,228	2 67.97	1,064	2 58.89
October.....	855	1 41.16	927	1 44.62	1,217	2 65.19	1,018	2 54.53
November.....	848	1 42.18	1,035	1 51.48	974	2 63.91	957	2 52.97
December.....	858	1 41.30	753	1 36.25	894	2 47.89	794	2 42.53

¹ Death rate computed on population of 244,732 (health department's census).

² Death rate computed on population of 219,941 (official census, 1903).

Comparative mortality from Jan. 1, 1901, to Sept. 30, 1907—Continued.

Month.	1905		1906		1907	
	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.
January.....	685	1 36.69	737	1 39.47	632	2 33.31
February.....	608	1 36.05	595	1 35.28	473	2 27.59
March.....	563	1 30.15	600	1 32.13	464	2 24.45
April.....	530	1 29.32	555	1 30.27	416	2 22.65
May.....	526	1 28.16	600	1 32.13	462	2 24.35
June.....	593	1 32.81	693	1 36.72	402	2 21.89
July.....	747	1 40.00	1,451	1 77.72	515	2 27.14
August.....	841	1 45.03	1,182	1 63.31	653	2 34.41
September.....	1,013	1 56.06	835	1 46.22	768	2 41.82
October.....	850	1 45.51	684	1 36.64	.....	.....
November.....	944	1 52.24	653	1 36.14	.....	.....
December.....	841	1 45.03	597	1 31.98	.....	.....

¹ Death rate computed on population of 219,941 (official census, 1903).

² Death rate computed on population of 223,542 (health census, 1907).

Mortality compared with same period of previous years.

	First quarter.		Second quarter.		Third quarter.		Fourth quarter.	
	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.	Number of deaths.	Annual death rate per 1,000.
1901.....	2,327	42.93	2,410	43.97	2,077	47.49	2,561	46.22
1902.....	2,236	41.25	4,433	80.89	5,067	91.46	2,715	29.00
1903.....	1,652	30.48	1,911	34.87	2,710	48.91	3,085	55.68
1904.....	2,256	41.16	2,314	42.22	2,962	53.46	2,769	49.98
1905.....	1,856	34.24	1,649	30.09	2,601	46.94	2,635	47.56
1906.....	1,932	35.64	1,848	33.72	3,468	62.59	1,934	34.90
1907.....	1,569	28.48	1,280	22.98	1,936	34.38	.....	.....

MATERIAL PROGRESS AND BUSINESS CONDITIONS.

I come now to material conditions in the islands and the progress that has been made in respect to them. While there is reason to hope that the mining industry may be very much improved and developed, the future of the islands is almost wholly involved in the development of its agricultural resources, and the business of the islands must necessarily depend on the question of how much its inhabitants can get out of the ground. In bringing about the reforms and making the progress which I have been detailing, the Government has had to meet disadvantageous conditions in respect to agriculture that can hardly be exaggerated.

The chief products of the islands are abacá, or Manila hemp, as it is generally called, the fiber of a fruitless variety of banana plant; coconuts, generally in the form of the dried coconut meat, called "copra;" sugar, exported in a form having the lowest degree of polarization known in commerce; and tobacco exported in the leaf and also in cigars and cigarettes. There are other exports, of course, but these form the bulk of the merchantable products of the islands. In addition to these, and in excess of most of them except hemp, is the production of rice, which constitutes the staple food of the inhabitants. Some years before the Americans came to the islands the production of rice had diminished in extent because the hemp fiber grew so much in demand that it was found to be more profitable to raise

hemp and buy rice from abroad. In the first few years of the American occupation, however, during the insurrection and the continuance of the guerilla warfare, and finally the prevalence of ladronism, many of the rice fields lay idle, and the importation of rice reached the enormous figure of \$12,000,000 gold, or about four-tenths of the total imports. With the restoration of better conditions, the production in rice has increased so that the amount of rice now imported is only about \$3,500,000 in gold, and the difference between the two importations doubtless measures the increased native production of the cereal.

During the six years of American occupancy under the civil government agriculture has been subject to the violent destruction which is more or less characteristic of all tropical countries. The typhoons have damaged the coconut trees, they have at times destroyed or very much affected the hemp production, and drought has injured the rice as well as the coconuts. The character of the tobacco leaf has deteriorated much because of a lack of care in its cultivation, due to the loose and careless habits of agriculture caused by war and ladronism, and locusts have at times cleared the fields of other crops without leaving anything for the food of the cultivators.

The great disaster to the islands, however, has been the rinderpest, which carried away in two or three years 75 or 80 per cent of all draft cattle in the islands. This was a blow under which the agriculture of the islands has been struggling for now four or five years. Attempts were made, under the generous legislation of Congress appropriating \$3,000,000 to remedy the loss, if possible, to bring in cattle from other countries, but it was found that the cattle brought in, not being acclimated, died, most of them before they could be transferred to the farm, and then, too, they only added to the difficulty of the situation by bringing new diseases into the Philippines. It has been found that nothing can restore former conditions except the natural breeding of the survivors, and in this way it will certainly take five or six years more to restore matters to their normal condition. Meantime, of course, other means are sought and encouraged for transportation and for plowing. The difficulty in the use of horses is that an Indian disease, called the "surra," which it has been impossible to cure, has carried off 50 per cent of the horses of the islands. Considering these difficulties, it seems to me wonderful that the exports from the islands have so far exceeded the exports in Spanish times and have been so well maintained that last year there was more exported from the islands than ever before in the history of the Philippines, as will be seen from the following table:

Value of Philippine exports, 1903-1907, of American occupation.

Fiscal year.	Hemp.	Sugar.	Tobacco and manufactures.	Copra.	All other.	Total.
	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
1903.....	21,701,575	3,955,568	1,882,018	4,473,029	1,107,709	33,119,899
1904.....	21,794,960	2,668,507	2,013,287	2,527,019	1,246,854	30,250,627
1905.....	22,146,241	4,977,026	1,999,193	2,095,355	1,134,800	32,352,615
1906.....	19,446,769	4,863,865	2,389,890	4,043,115	1,173,495	31,917,134
1907.....	21,085,081	3,934,460	3,129,194	4,053,193	1,511,429	33,713,357
Average annual.....	21,234,925	4,079,885	2,282,716	3,438,342	1,234,857	32,270,726

NOTE.—Total exports do not include gold and silver coin.

The largest export showing in Spanish times, during years for which there are official statistics, was as follows:

Value of Philippine exports in Spanish times, calendar years 1885-1894.

Calendar year.	Hemp.	Sugar.	Tobacco and manufactures.	Copra. ¹	Total, including all other articles.
	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>	<i>Dollars.</i>
1885.....	5,509,757	8,669,522	2,297,358	.....	20,551,434
1886.....	4,340,058	7,019,978	2,010,093	5,781	20,113,847
1887.....	8,161,550	6,156,709	1,559,070	36,809	19,447,997
1888.....	8,099,422	6,271,030	2,449,181	131,347	19,404,434
1889.....	10,402,614	9,101,024	2,255,494	209,820	25,671,322
Average annual.....	7,302,680	7,443,653	2,114,240	76,752	21,037,807
1890.....	6,925,564	7,265,030	2,469,033	85,764	21,547,541
1891.....	10,323,913	5,696,746	2,150,306	.....	20,878,359
1892.....	6,886,526	7,768,595	2,535,740	743,918	19,163,950
1893.....	7,697,164	10,368,883	2,453,304	414,852	22,183,223
1894.....	7,243,842	5,476,617	1,576,175	1,172,191	16,541,842
Average annual.....	7,815,402	7,315,174	2,232,912	483,305	20,062,983

¹ Value of cocoanuts included.

NOTE.—Figures are taken from "Estadística general del comercio exterior de las Islas Filipinas," issued by the Spanish Government.

Total exports include gold and silver coin.

The chief export in value and quantity from the Philippines is Manila hemp, it amounting to between 60 and 65 per cent of the total exports. Its value has increased very rapidly of late and the result has been that much inferior hemp has been exported, because it could be produced more cheaply and in greater quantity. That which has made the hemp expensive and has reduced the export of it—for large quantities of it rot in the field still—is the lack of transportation and the heavy expense of the labor involved in pulling the fiber and freeing it from the pulp of the stem. Several machines have been invented to do this mechanically and it seems likely now that two have been invented which may do the work, although they have not been sufficiently tested to make this certain. Should a light, portable, and durable machine be invented which would accomplish this, it will revolutionize the exportation of hemp and will probably have a tendency to reduce its cost, but greatly to increase its use and develop the export business of the Philippine Islands most rapidly.

SUGAR AND TOBACCO—REDUCTION OF TARIFF.

There is a good deal of land available for sugar in the Philippines, but there is very little of it as good as that in Cuba, and the amount of capital involved in developing it is so great that I think the possibility of the extension of the sugar production is quite remote. The moment it expands, the price of labor, which has already increased 50 to 75 per cent, will have another increase. All that can really be expected is that the sugar industry—and this is also true of the tobacco industry—shall be restored to their former prosperity in the earlier Spanish times, when the highest export of sugar reached 265,000 tons to all the world.

The tobacco industry needs a careful cultivation, which, under present conditions, it is very difficult to secure. The carelessness with

which the plant is grown and the defective character of the leaves is such as to make the manufacturers of cigars and tobacco in Manila despair of using the Philippine product without the addition of the wrappers either from Sumatra or the United States.

All that a friend of the Philippines can hope for is that the sugar and tobacco industries shall regain their former reasonably prosperous conditions. The development of the islands must be in another direction. The question of labor and capital both must always seriously hamper the growth of sugar production. Nor would I regard it as a beneficial result for the Philippine Islands to have the fields of those islands turned exclusively to the growth of sugar. The social conditions that this would bring about would not promise well for the political and industrial development of the people, because the cane-sugar industry makes a society in which there are wealthy landowners holding very large estates with most valuable and expensive plants and a large population of unskilled labor, with no small farming or middle class tending to build up a conservative, self-respecting community from bottom to top. But, while I have this view in respect to the matter, I am still strongly of the opinion that justice requires that the United States should open her sugar and tobacco markets to the Philippines. I am very confident that such a course would not injure, by way of competition, either the sugar or the tobacco industries of the United States, but that it would merely substitute Philippine sugar and tobacco for a comparatively small part of the sugar and tobacco that now comes in after paying duty. Their free admission into this country would not affect the prices of sugar and tobacco in the United States as long as any substantial amount of those commodities must be imported with the full duty paid in order to supply the markets of the United States.

So confident am I that the development, which the sugar and tobacco interests of the United States fear in the Philippines from an admission of those products free to the United States, will not ensue to the injury of those interests that I would not object to a limitation on the amount of sugar and tobacco in its various forms, manufactured and unmanufactured, which may be admitted to the United States from the Philippines, the limitation being such a reasonable amount as would admittedly not affect the price of either commodity in the United States or lead to a great exploitation of the sugar and tobacco interests in the islands. The free admission of sugar and tobacco up to the amount of the proposed limitation, for the purpose of restoring the former prosperity in these two products to the islands, is very important. There are two or three Provinces, notably Occidental Negros and the island of Panay, the prosperity of which is bound up in good markets for sugar, and this is true also of some parts of Laguna, Cavite, Bulacan, and Pampanga, where sugar was raised in the old days with success and profit. In respect to tobacco, the need is not so pressing, because the territory in which marketable tobacco culture prevails is by no means so great. Still it does affect three Provinces—Cagayan, Isabela, and La Union.

FODDER.

The agricultural bureau of the government has been devoting a great deal of effort and time and money to experimenting in agri-

culture. They have made many failures and have not yet succeeded certainly in sowing a grass which will properly cure and may be used for hay. It is hoped that in certain of the higher altitudes alfalfa, and especially clover, may be raised successfully; and, if so, the very high price which has now to be paid for fodder imported from America may be avoided. This is a question which seriously affects the cost of the Army in the Philippines.

NEW PLANTS.

Through the agricultural bureau a new industry has been developed, that of raising maguey, a plant, the fiber of which is much less valuable than that of Manila hemp, but which has a good market whenever it is produced in quantities. The rapidity with which a great deal of land in the Philippines that heretofore has not been capable of profitable use is now taken up with the planting of maguey is most encouraging. The plants are being distributed by the agricultural bureau in the islands.

THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The financial condition of the government is as good to-day as it ever has been. The following table shows what it is, and the surplus on hand for emergencies as satisfactory:

General account balance sheet of the government of the Philippine Islands for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907.

	Debit.	Credit.
Surplus and deficiency account:		
Balance from previous years.....		\$4,439,974.02
Excess revenues over expenditures.....		2,741,606.41
Excess resources over liabilities.....	\$7,500,782.29	
Carried from suspense account.....		319,201.86
Total.....	7,500,782.29	7,500,782.29
Insular revenues and expenditures:		
Customs revenues.....		7,990,376.57
Internal revenue.....		2,684,579.24
Miscellaneous revenues.....		389,440.25
Insular expenditures.....	6,968,724.86	
Payments to Provinces.....	1,438,440.40	
Losses under section 41, act 1402.....	346.20	
Allowances under section 42, act 1402.....	501.38	
Interbureau transactions.....		85,223.19
Total.....	8,408,012.84	11,149,619.25
Excess revenues over expenditures.....	2,741,606.41	
	11,149,619.25	11,149,619.25
Resources and liabilities:		
The insular treasurer's cash balance.....	25,033,490.93	
Gold-standard fund.....	1,006,753.13	
Surplus on customs auction sales.....		466.84
Invalid money orders.....		2,047.14
Outstanding liabilities.....		5,229.40
Loans to Provinces.....	481,137.55	
Refundable export duties.....		413,698.89
City of Manila.....	3,661,255.31	
Outstanding warrants.....		139,136.45
Friar lands funds.....	6,670,548.06	
Moro Province.....	45,646.13	
Depository fund.....		3,956,263.00
Silver certificate redemption fund.....		10,770,354.00
Refundable internal revenues.....		331,970.30

General account balance sheet of the government of the Philippine Islands for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907—Continued.

	Debit.	Credit.
Resources and liabilities—Continued.		
Public works and permanent improvement fund	\$2, 198, 249. 70	.....
Congressional relief fund .....	.....	\$236, 934. 79
Sewer and waterworks construction fund .....	.....	1, 855, 081. 84
Insular treasurer's liability on unissued silver certificates	9, 702, 500. 00	.....
Unissued silver certificates .....	.....	9, 702, 500. 00
Miscellaneous special funds .....	.....	387, 095. 17
Provincial governments .....	.....	1, 132, 743. 62
Philippine money-order account .....	.....	182, 576. 54
United States money-order account .....	.....	128, 201. 86
Bonded indebtedness .....	.....	14, 500, 000. 00
Outstanding postal drafts .....	.....	2, 283. 29
Friar land bond sinking fund	106, 216. 92	.....
Sewer and waterworks construction bond sinking fund .....	.....	39, 898. 34
Rizal monument fund .....	.....	1, 413. 20
Baguio town-site improvement fund .....	.....	1, 525. 19
Collecting and disbursing officers	2, 384, 404. 42	.....
Total	51, 290, 202. 15	43, 789, 419. 86
Excess resources over liabilities .....	.....	7, 500, 782. 29
Total	51, 290, 202. 15	51, 290, 202. 15
Suspense account:		
Transfer of funds .....	.....	7, 674. 49
General account deposits .....	.....	195, 263. 24
Accountable warrants .....	.....	116, 264. 13
Carried to surplus and deficiency account	319, 201. 86	.....
Total	319, 201. 86	319, 201. 86
Treasury account:		
Balance from previous fiscal years	22, 461, 858. 40	.....
Receipts at the treasury	112, 780, 022. 27	.....
Withdrawals from the treasury .....	.....	110, 347, 526. 19
Available for appropriation .....	.....	5, 218, 817. 54
Appropriations undrawn .....	.....	4, 948, 919. 94
Available for refundment or redemption .....	.....	14, 726, 617. 00
Total	135, 241, 880. 67	135, 241, 880. 67

The following statement of revenues and expenditures of the Philippine government, exclusive of all items of a refundable character, covers the period from the date of American occupation, August 18, 1898, to June 30, 1907.

Revenues.

Fiscal year ended June 30—	Insular.	Provincial.	City of Manila.	Total.
1899	\$3, 558, 682. 83	.....	.....	\$3, 558, 682. 83
1900	6, 899, 340. 53	.....	.....	6, 899, 340. 53
1901	10, 753, 459. 95	.....	.....	10, 753, 459. 95
1902	9, 371, 283. 11	\$2, 008, 480. 88	\$1, 199, 593. 21	12, 579, 357. 20
1903	10, 757, 455. 63	2, 527, 252. 93	1, 541, 575. 85	14, 826, 284. 41
1904	10, 249, 263. 98	3, 295, 839. 47	1, 931, 129. 97	15, 476, 233. 42
1905	11, 549, 495. 37	3, 107, 912. 91	1, 441, 165. 82	16, 098, 574. 10
1906	11, 468, 067. 16	4, 509, 572. 02	1, 995, 289. 85	17, 972, 929. 03
1907	11, 149, 619. 25	4, 604, 528. 31	1, 691, 341. 93	17, 445, 489. 49
Total	85, 756, 667. 81	20, 053, 586. 52	9, 800, 096. 63	115, 610, 350. 96

Expenditures.

Fiscal year ended June 30—	Insular.	Provincial.	City of Manila.	Total.
1899	\$2, 376, 327. 12	.....	.....	\$2, 376, 327. 12
1900	4, 758, 793. 66	.....	.....	4, 758, 793. 66
1901	6, 451, 528. 37	.....	.....	6, 451, 528. 37
1902	8, 189, 404. 59	\$1, 633, 158. 22	\$622, 294. 81	10, 444, 857. 62
1903	10, 249, 533. 40	1, 981, 261. 22	1, 177, 611. 67	13, 408, 406. 29
1904	11, 122, 562. 38	2, 339, 826. 10	1, 578, 303. 50	15, 040, 691. 98
1905	12, 248, 857. 33	1, 474, 320. 43	2, 574, 102. 78	16, 297, 280. 54
1906	10, 146, 779. 12	4, 335, 091. 32	2, 492, 392. 23	16, 974, 262. 67
1907	8, 408, 012. 84	4, 739, 038. 20	1, 560, 801. 40	14, 704, 852. 44
Total	73, 951, 798. 81	16, 499, 695. 49	10, 005, 506. 39	100, 457, 000. 69

The bonded indebtedness is as follows:

Title of bonds.	Authorized by Congress.	Amount of issue.	Date issued.	Redeemable.	Due.
Land purchase bonds.....	Act of July 1, 1902.....	\$7,000,000	Jan. 11, 1904	1914	1934
Philippine public improvement bonds:					
First issue.....	Act of Feb. 6, 1905.....	2,500,000	Mar. 1, 1905	1915	1935
Second issue.....	do.....	1,000,000	Feb. 1, 1906	1916	1936
Manila sewer and water supply bonds:					
First issue.....	Act of July 1, 1902, as amended by act of Feb. 6, 1905.	1,000,000	June 1, 1905	1915	1935
Second issue.....	do.....	2,000,000	Jan. 2, 1907	1917	1937
Total.....		13,500,000			

To meet the interest and principal on these bonds ample sinking funds have been provided, and the bonds are now held on the market, notwithstanding the present depression, at prices well above those for which they were originally sold.

FRIARS' LANDS.

The question of the disposition of the friars' lands is one which is occupying the close attention of the Secretary of the Interior and the director of lands. The price of the lands was about \$7,000,000. Much delay has been encountered in making the necessary surveys and the disposition of them for the present has largely been temporary and at small rents in order to secure an attornment of all the tenants and the clear definition of the limits of the leaseholds claimed by them. This has involved considerable time and expense in making the necessary surveys. The injury to the sugar industry and the destruction of draft cattle has affected the price and character of the sugar lands, and they have been allowed to grow up in cogon grass. This will require the investment of considerable capital to put them in sugar-producing condition. It is estimated that the salable lands would amount in value to something over \$5,000,000 and that the lands, mostly sugar, which are not now salable, and the plants which were bought with the lands, represent the other \$2,000,000 of the purchase price. It will take some years to work out the cost, and it is possible, as already prophesied, that there will be a considerable loss to the islands, but as the purchase was based on political grounds and for the purpose of bringing on tranquillity, such a loss as that which was thought not improbable at the time of the purchase is amply compensated for in the general result.

FINAL SETTLEMENT IN RESPECT TO CHARITABLE TRUSTS AND SPANISH-FILIPINO BANK WITH ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

I have spoken in previous reports of the controversies arising between the Roman Catholic Church and the Philippine government in reference to the administration of certain charitable trusts. The same church was interested as a majority stockholder in the Spanish-Filipino Bank and a dispute had arisen as to the right of the bank to exercise the power conferred on it by its original charter of issuing bank notes in an amount equal to three times its capital stock. A

compromise was finally arranged last June with Archbishop Harty, of Manila, and was consummated during my visit to the Philippines. I submitted to you a full report of this compromise. It received your approval and was then carried into effect by the Philippine Commission.

ROADS.

The construction of roads by the central government has gone on each year, but the roads have not been kept up by the municipal governments charged with the duty as they ought to have been. The commission has now established a system by which it is hoped ultimately that the whole matter of roads may receive a systematic impetus throughout the islands. Roads can not be kept up in the Tropics except by what is known as the "caminero" system, in which a small piece of each road shall be assigned to the repair and control of a road repairer to be known as the "caminero." The truth is that good roads will develop as the people develop, because the people can keep up the roads if they will, and it is not until they have a large sense of political responsibility that they are likely to sacrifice much to maintain them.

RAILROADS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

In my last annual report I set forth in detail the concessions granted for the construction of railroads in Luzon, Panay, Cebu, and Negros, and showed that within five years we might expect that, instead of a single line of railway 120 miles in length, which was all that we found when we occupied the islands, we would have a system with a mileage of 1,000 miles. Work has gone on in full compliance with the terms of the concessions of the two companies.

Only one of these companies took advantage of the provision for the guaranty of bonds, and they have built about 40 miles of road and have earned, under the terms of the concession, the guaranty of \$973,000 of bonds, which has already been signed and delivered by the Philippine Government. Of course, in this financial panic these companies are likely to have difficulty in securing investors in their securities. The roads as constructed have been well constructed and are admirably adapted to resist the climatic conditions in the islands. There is no reason in my judgment why these roads when constructed should not pay a reasonable percentage upon the investment. It is of the utmost difficulty to secure the coming of capital to the islands, and it would greatly aid us if the dividends earned by these roads were very large. In the Orient two-thirds of the income of railways comes from passenger earnings and one-third from freight. Of course, the railroads are very essential to the agricultural interests of the country and will directly affect the amount of exports of agricultural products—so we may count on a steady increase in the freight receipts from the moment of their beginning operation. As I say, however, the chief hope for profit in the railways is in the passenger traffic. In the three Visayas in which the railroads are to be constructed the density of population is about 160 per square mile, whereas the average population per square mile in the United States in 1900 was but 26. The island of Cebu has a population of 336 per square mile, or a greater density than Japan, France, Germany, or

British India. It is, therefore, reasonable to suppose that the passenger earnings on these railroads will be very large. It was anticipated that the labor problem would be a difficult one to solve in the construction of these roads. This has not proved to be true. The Philippine labor has shown itself capable of instruction, and by proper treatment of being made constant in its application. Of course, the prices of labor have largely increased, but the companies constructing the roads have found it wise to increase wages, and thereby secure greater efficiency. Even with increased wages the cost of unit of result is less in the Philippines in the construction of railways than it is in the United States. Of course, the drain on the labor supply of sugar plantations and other places where agricultural labor is employed is great and the effect upon raising sugar and other products is to increase the cost. But I think the lesson from the construction of the railroads is that Philippine labor can be improved by instruction and can be made effective and reasonably economical by proper treatment. The coming into the islands of the capital to construct railways, of course, has had a good effect in the improvement of business conditions, but it is to be noted that in the estimate of importations the railroad material and supplies which are brought in free under the statute are not included in the totals, and therefore are not to be offered as an explanation for the very good showing in respect to the amount of imports to the islands for the last fiscal year.

GENERAL BUSINESS CONDITIONS.

Of course, the depression in certain business branches of agriculture, like sugar, tobacco, and rice, due to lack of markets for the first two, and to a lack of draft animals in the production of sugar and rice has had a direct effect upon the business of the islands of a depressing character. Gradually, however, business has grown better. In spite of adverse conditions the importations of rice have decreased from \$12,000,000 gold to \$3,500,000 gold, and, while the imports as a whole have increased not to their highest previous figure, they have been maintained within four and a half millions of their highest mark, and, as already said, the exports are higher than ever in the history of the islands, the balance of trade in their favor for the last fiscal year being about \$5,000,000, exclusive of gold and silver and government and railway free entries.

I found in the islands a disposition on the part of both American and Philippine business men and of the leaders of all parties in the Philippine Assembly to make a united effort to improve business and general conditions.

BUSINESS FUTURE OF PHILIPPINES.

I do not hesitate to prophesy that during the next 25 years a development will take place in the agriculture and other business of the Philippine Islands, which will be as remarkable in its benefits to the United States and the Philippine Islands as was the development of Alaska during the last 10 or 15 years. Hope of this is not what has actuated the government in pursuing the policy that it has pursued in the development of the islands, but this is as inevitable a result as

if it had been directly sought, and perhaps the absence of selfishness in the development of the islands is a greater assurance of profitable return than if business exploitation by the United States had been the chief and sole motive. The growth in the production of hemp and other fiber products, in coconuts, in rubber and many other tropical crops and in peculiar manufactures of the islands may be looked forward to with certainty.

GOLD STANDARD CURRENCY.

One of the great benefits conferred upon the islands by the American Government has been the introduction of the gold standard. This has doubtless prevented the larger profits which were made in the old days by the purchasers of hemp and other agricultural products in the islands, who sold again in European and American markets, because under the system then prevailing they bought in silver and sold in gold, and by watching the markets they were able to add very much to the legitimate profit of the middlemen by what constituted a system of gambling in exchanges. The same features characterized the banking in the islands. Now, however, with the gold standard the gambling feature in business is very largely eliminated. The coinage is satisfactory to the people, the silver certificates circulate well and are popular, and there seems to be no ground for complaint of the currency.

NEED OF CAPITAL—AGRICULTURAL BANK.

One of the crying needs of the Philippines is capital, and this whether it be for the development of railroads, wagon roads, manufactures, or in the promotion of agriculture. The usurious interest which has to be paid by the farmers is so high as to leave very little for his profit and maintenance, and ever since we entered the islands the cry for an agricultural bank which would lend money for a reasonable interest, say, 10 per cent, has been urged upon the commission. Last year Congress authorized the government to guarantee the interest at 4 per cent on a certain amount of capital invested in such a bank, but up to this time no one has embraced the opportunity thus offered to undertake the conduct and operation of a bank although negotiations are pending looking to such a result. It is now proposed that the government shall undertake this instead of a private individual. Experimentation has been attempted on the friars' lands by the appropriation of \$100,000 for loans to the friar tenants to encourage them to improve agriculture, and the result of this experiment will be awaited with great interest.

The reduction of the amount of silver in the silver peso for the purpose of keeping it within the 50-cent gold value, which is the legal standard, has gone steadily on and will result ultimately in the accumulation in the treasury of a fund of \$3,000,000 gold. It is thought that part of this money might be taken to establish an agricultural bank on a governmental basis. The treasurer of the islands, Mr. Branagan, who has had large experience in banking in the islands, because his office has brought him closely into contact with it and because he has had to examine all the banks, is confident that an agricultural bank of \$1,000,000 or \$2,000,000 might be established by the

government and managed by the treasury department, together with the provincial treasurers in such a way as greatly to aid the cause of agriculture in the islands. One great difficulty in the operation of an agricultural bank is the uncertainty that prevails to-day in the islands in respect to the titles of the lands which are held. The land law provided a method of perfecting titles through what is called the land court founded on the Torrens land system, which was introduced by law some years ago in the islands. The expense of surveying the lands, due to the shortness of supply of surveyors, and the time taken has made the process of settling titles rather slow, but as defects have appeared the commission has changed them and it is hoped that this system of preparing for the business of an agricultural bank may go on apace.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANK.

A postal savings bank has been established and was first more patronized by Americans than Filipinos, but Filipinos are now taking it up and the deposits therein amount to upward of ₱1,000,000. There have been practically no banking facilities throughout the islands, except in Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu, and this establishment of postal savings-bank offices in a large proportion of the post offices throughout the islands offers an opportunity to the people of moderate means to put their money in a secure place and to derive a small revenue therefrom. The insecurity of savings by Filipino farmers and others in the country has certainly reduced the motive for saving which an opportunity to deposit their money will stimulate. The exchange business of the islands has also been facilitated by statutory provisions authorizing the sale of exchange by provincial treasurers on the central treasury at Manila and vice versa.

POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPHS.

The post office department, considering the conditions that exist and the difficulties of reaching remote parts of the islands, has been very well managed and the offices are increasing in encouraging proportion each year.

The following table shows the increase in postal facilities from year to year of our occupation:

For fiscal year ending June 30.	Number post offices.	Money-or- der offices.	Number employees.	Stamp sales.
1900.....	19	.....	113	₱ 228,178.36
1901.....	24	24	130	233,182.96
1902.....	90	31	331	238,418.40
1903.....	209	33	570	248,414.36
1904.....	291	63	579	224,354.61
1905.....	414	62	612	222,701.36
1906.....	476	60	1,003	425,261.50
1907.....	505	63	1,091	607,203.44

Under a system devised by Mr. Forbes, secretary of commerce and police, mail subsidies were granted to commercial lines on condition that good service at reasonable rates of transportation should be furnished upon safe and commodious steamers. The Government vessels which had previously been purchased in order to promote intercourse

between the islands are now used on outlying routes where commercial lines will not take up the traffic, but are used in connection with the commercial lines, and in this way additional routes are being tested and the marine commerce between all the islands is made to increase.

By consent of the Secretary of War and on the recommendation of the commanding general of the Philippines and the agreement of the civil government all the telegraph lines in the islands have now been transferred to the post-office department of the civil government of the Philippines. These telegraph lines reach into the remotest Provinces and to all the principal islands of the large archipelago. While there were some telegraph lines in the Spanish times, the system has grown to such proportions now as to be almost an entirely new system. It has made the government of the islands much more easy because it brings every Province within half a day's communication of Manila for information and instructions from the central authority. It has furnished a most profitable instrument for business communications, and while it entails considerable burden on the civil government it is well worth for governmental and business purposes all that it costs. I ought to say that the post-office department is rapidly training Filipinos to fill all the positions of telegraph operators, and that this materially reduces the cost of operation and at the same time furnishes an admirable technical school for great numbers of bright Filipino young men. I submit a statement of the mileage of the cables and telegraph lines operated by the government.

1906.

	Miles.
Lines transferred to the insular government by the Signal Corps up to June 30:	
Telegraph lines-----	3, 780
Cable lines-----	328
Telephone lines-----	2, 137
Total -----	6, 245
Lines operated by the Signal Corps on June 30:	
Telegraph lines-----	1, 406
Cable lines-----	1, 452
Telephone lines-----	338
Total -----	3, 196
Total mileage of telegraph, cable, and telephone lines in operation June 30-----	9, 441
Number of telegraph offices-----	161
Number of telephones in operation-----	450

1907.

Lines transferred to the insular government by the Signal Corps since July 1, 1907-----	1, 914. 5
Total mileage of telegraph and cable lines in operation by the insular government to date-----	6, 951

MINES AND MINING.

There has been a good deal of prospecting in the islands and gold and copper have been found in paying quantities in the mountains of northern Luzon, the Provinces of Benguet and Bontoc and Le-

panto, as well as in the Camarines in southeastern Luzon, and in Masbate, an island lying directly south of Luzon; but great complaint is made, and properly made, of the limitations upon the mining law which prevent the location by one person of more than one claim on a lode or vein. Mining is such a speculative matter at any rate, and the capital that one puts into it is so generally lost that it would seem that, in a country like the Philippines where development ought to be had, there should be liberal inducements for the investment of capital for such a purpose. Secretary Worcester of the interior department has frequently recommended that this limitation of the law be repealed. The commission joins in this recommendation, and I cordially concur.

While I do not favor large land holdings, I also concur in the recommendation of the secretary of the interior and the Commission that the prohibition upon corporations holding more than 2,500 acres of land be also stricken out. It certainly might well be increased to 10,000 acres if any limitation is to be imposed at all.

UNITED STATES COASTWISE TRADING LAWS.

It is proposed by some to put in force the coastwise trading laws in respect to the navigation between the United States and the islands. I think this a very shortsighted policy. To-day the trade between the United States and the islands, export and import, is about 28 per cent of the total. The proportion of the total export trade from the Philippines to the United States is growing and is certain to grow more rapidly in the future, especially if proper legislation is adopted in respect to sugar and tobacco. Now, a coastwise trading law will exclude altogether the use of foreign bottoms between the ports of the United States and the ports of the Philippine Islands and will confine that commerce to United States vessels. There is very grave doubt whether there are enough United States vessels to carry on this trade as it is, and even if there were they could not carry on the trade without a very great increase in freight rates over what they now are. The minute that these rates are advanced, while the rates to other countries remain the same, the trade between the islands and the United States will cease to be. There will be no trade for the vessels of the United States to carry, no one will have been benefited in the United States, and the only person who will reap advantage is the foreign exporter to whom the Philippine business house will naturally turn for exchange of products. The only method possible by which the United States vessels can be given the Philippine trade is by voting a reasonable subsidy for United States vessels engaged in that trade. Any other prohibitive or exclusive provision of law will be merely cutting off the nose to spite the face of the interest which attempts it. I feel certain that when the question of applying the coastwise trading laws to the business between the United States and the islands is fully investigated, even those representing the shipping interests that need and ought to have much encouragement will conclude that the coastwise trading laws applied to the American Philippine trade would merely destroy the trade without benefiting the shipping interests.

In the criticisms upon the Government's Philippine policy to be found in the columns of the newspapers that favor immediate sepa-

ration it has been frequently said that the coastwise trading laws of the United States apply as between islands of the Philippines. The truth is that the restrictions upon shipping between ports in the Philippine Islands are what the legislature of the islands imposes, and Congress has made no provision of limitation in respect to them. The coastwise regulations in force within the archipelago are as liberal as possible.

CITY OF MANILA.

The city of Manila is the social, political, and business center of the islands. It is the only large city in the islands. Its population is about 250,000, while there is no other city that exceeds 40,000 in population. By what now has been proven to be a mistake the commission purchased a building which was known and used as the Oriente Hotel. It was a hotel not very well conducted, but it was the only important hotel in the city of sufficient size and dignity to induce the coming of tourists. It was hoped that the purchase of this building, which was not particularly adapted as a hotel, might lead to the construction and maintenance of a better hotel. Such has not been the result, and although there are hotels in the city of Manila its reputation is that of being unable to furnish to the traveling public a comfortable hostelry for a short stay. This has driven away many travelers of our own country and other countries from a city that in historical interest, in beauty, and in comfort of life will compare favorably with any.

Mr. Burnham, the well-known landscape architect of Chicago, some years ago, without compensation, visited the Philippines and mapped out a plan for the improvement of the city and laid out a plan of construction for Baguio in Benguet as the summer capital. To both of these plans all improvements which have been attempted in the city have conformed, and if the present efficient city government continues there is every reason to believe that Manila will become a most attractive city. A contract has been made for the leasing of ground immediately upon the Luneta and facing the bay to a firm of capitalists for the construction of a hotel to cost ₱500,000. It is doubtful, however, whether this capital can be raised at the present time, and if it falls through it is proposed—and I think with wisdom proposed—that the government shall erect a hotel as a public investment for the development of the city and the islands and lease it to the best bidder.

There is no city in the world better governed than Manila. The streets are well cleaned, are well policed, there is a most excellent fire department, the parks are being enlarged and improved, the street car system is as good as any anywhere, and with the improvements in the water supply the sewerage system and esteros or canals, which are now under foot and part of which are quite near accomplished, the face which the Filipinos turn toward the world in the city of Manila will be a most pleasing one.

POLITICAL FUTURE OF THE ISLANDS.

There are in the Philippines many who wish that the government shall declare a definite policy in respect to the islands so that they may know what that policy is. I do not see how any more definite

policy can be declared than was declared by President McKinley in his instructions to Secretary Root for the guidance of the Philippine Commission, which was incorporated into law by the organic act of the Philippine government, adopted July 1, 1902. That policy is declared to be the extension of self-government to the Philippine Islands by gradual steps from time to time as the people of the islands shall show themselves fit to receive the additional responsibility, and that policy has been consistently adhered to in the last seven years now succeeding the establishment of civil government.

Having taken some part and sharing in the responsibility for that government, of course my views of the result are likely to be colored by my interest in having the policy regarded as successful, but eliminating as far as is possible the personal bias, I believe it to be true that the conditions in the islands to-day vindicate and justify that policy. It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater the ultimate independence of the islands, although of course if both the United States and the islands were to conclude after complete self-government were possible that it would be mutually beneficial to continue a governmental relation between them like that between England and Australia, there would be nothing inconsistent with the present policy in such a result.

Any attempt to fix the time in which complete self-government may be conferred upon the Filipinos in their own interest is, I think, most unwise. The key of the whole policy outlined by President McKinley and adopted by Congress was that of the education of the masses of the people and the leading them out of the dense ignorance in which they are now, with a view to enabling them intelligently to exercise the force of public opinion without which a popular self-government is impossible.

It seems to me reasonable to say that such a condition can not be reached until at least one generation shall have been subjected to the process of primary and industrial education, and that when it is considered that the people are divided into groups speaking from 10 to 15 different dialects, and that they must acquire a common medium of communication, and that one of the civilized languages, it is not unreasonable to extend the necessary period beyond a generation. By that time English will be the language of the islands and we can be reasonably certain that a great majority of those living there will not only speak and read and write English, but will be affected by the knowledge of free institutions, and will be able to understand their rights as members of the community and to seek to enforce them against the pernicious system of caciquism and local bossism, which I have attempted in this report to describe.

But it is said that a great majority of the people desire immediate independence. I am not prepared to say that if the real wish of the majority of all the people, men, women, and children, educated and uneducated, were to be obtained, there would not be a very large majority in favor of immediate independence. It would not, however, be an intelligent judgment based on a knowledge of what independence means, of what its responsibilities are or of what popular government in its essence is. But the mere fact that a majority of all the people are in favor of immediate independence is not a reason

why that should be granted, if we assume at all the correctness of the statement, which impartial observers can not but fail to acquiesce in, to wit: That the Filipinos are not now fit for self-government.

The policy of the United States is not to establish an oligarchy, but a popular self-government in the Philippines. The electorate to which it has been thought wise to extend partial self-government embraces only about 15 or 20 per cent of the adult male population, because it has been generally conceded by Filipinos and Americans alike that those not included within the electorate are wholly unable to exercise political responsibility. Now, those persons who demanded and were given a hearing before the delegation of Congressmen and Senators that visited the islands in 1905, to urge immediate independence, contended that the islands are fit for self-government because there are from 7 to 10 per cent of intelligent people who are constituted by nature a ruling class, while there are 90 per cent that are a servile and obedient class, and that the presence of the two classes together argues a well-balanced government. Such a proposition thus avowed reveals what is known otherwise to be the fact that many of those most emphatic and urgent in seeking independence in the islands have no thought of a popular government at all. They are in favor of a close government in which they, the leaders of a particular class, shall exercise control of the rest of the people. Their views are thus wholly at variance with the policy of the United States in the islands.

The presence of the Americans in the islands is essential to the due development of the lower classes and the preservation of their rights. If the American Government can only remain in the islands long enough to educate the entire people, to give them a language which enables them to come into contact with modern civilization, and to extend to them from time to time additional political rights so that by the exercise of them they shall learn the use and responsibilities necessary to their proper exercise, independence can be granted with entire safety to the people. I have an abiding conviction that the Filipino people are capable of being taught self-government in the process of their development, that in carrying out this policy they will be improved physically and mentally, and that, as they acquire more rights, their power to exercise moral restraints upon themselves will be strengthened and improved. Meantime they will be able to see, and the American public will come to see, the enormous material benefit to both arising from the maintenance of some sort of a bond between the two countries which shall preserve their mutually beneficial business relations.

No one can have studied the East without having been made aware that in the development of China, Japan, and all Asia are to be presented the most important political questions for the next century, and that in the pursuit of trade between the Occident and the Orient the having such an outpost as the Philippines, making the United States an Asiatic power for the time, will be of immense benefit to its merchants and its trade. While I have always refrained from making this the chief reason for the retention of the Philippines, because the real reason lies in the obligation of the United States to make this people fit for self-government and then to turn the government over to them, I don't think it improper, in order to secure

support for the policy, to state such additional reason. The severe criticism to which the policy of the Government in the Philippines has been subjected by English colonial statesmen and students should not hinder our pursuit of it in the slightest. It is, of course, opposed to the policy usually pursued in the English Government in dealing with native races, because, in common with other colonial powers, most of England's colonial statesmen have assumed that the safest course was to keep the native peoples ignorant and quiet, and that any education which might furnish a motive for agitation was an interference with the true and proper course of government. Our policy is an experiment, it is true, and it assumes the risk of agitation and sedition which may arise from the overeducation of ambitious politicians or misdirected patriots, in order that the whole body of the people may acquire sufficient intelligence ultimately to exercise governmental control themselves.

Thus far the policy of the Philippines has worked. It has been attacked on the ground that we have gone too fast; that we have given the natives too much power. The meeting of the assembly and the conservative tone of that body thus far disclosed makes for our view rather than that of our opponents, but had the result been entirely different with the assembly, and had there been a violent outbreak at first in its deliberations and attempts at obstruction, I should not have been in the least discouraged, because ultimately I should have had confidence that the assembly would learn how foolish such exhibitions were and how little good they accomplished for the members of the assembly or the people whom they represented. The fact that this natural tendency was restrained is an indication of the general conservatism of the Filipino people.

Though bearing the name of immediate independistas, the members of the controlling party of the assembly are far from being in favor of a policy which those words strictly construed would mean. Moreover, the recent election held, since the assembly was organized, in which 15 progresista and 15 nacionalista governors were elected, is an indication that the nationalist feeling is by no means so overwhelming as was at first reported when the returns from the election of the assembly were published in the press.

The fact that Filipinos are given an opportunity now to take part in the forming of the governmental policies in the islands will, I hope, satisfy many of them that the United States is in earnest in attempting to educate them to self-government, will so occupy their ambitions and minds as to make the contention for immediate independence more of an ideal than of a real issue, will make more permanent and lasting the present satisfactory conditions as to peace and tranquillity in the islands; and will turn their attention toward the development of the prosperity of the islands by improvement of its material conditions and the uplifting of the people by their education, sanitation, and general instruction in their political, social, and material responsibilities.

There has been in the United States in the last year a recurring disposition on the part of many of the press and many public men to speak of the Philippine policy as if foredoomed to failure, and the condition of the islands as a most deplorable one. No one who knew the islands in 1900, and who has visited them during the present year,

and especially during the meeting of the assembly, can honestly and fairly share such views. To one actually responsible in any degree for the present conditions by reason of taking part in the government of those islands, the changes made and the progress made under the circumstances are most gratifying.

COST OF THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLANDS.

The most astounding and unfair statements have appeared in the press from time to time and have been uttered by men of political prominence who should know better in respect to the cost to the United States of the Philippine Islands. The question of the cost of the islands to the United States as affecting its future policy can not of course include the cost of a war into which the United States was forced against its will, and which, whether it ought to have been carried on or not, was carried on and was finished more than five years ago. The only question of cost that is relevant to the present discussion is the cost to the United States of the maintenance of the present Philippine government, including in that the cost of the maintenance of that part of the Army of the United States which is in the Philippine Islands. Nor is it fair to include the entire cost of the Army of the United States in the Philippine Islands for the reason that even if we did not have the Philippines, we should certainly retain the present size of our standing Army, which hardly exceeds 60,000 effective men, a very small army for 80,000,000 people. Moreover, it is worthy of note that the greatest increase in the Army of recent years has been in that branch of the service—to wit, the Coast Artillery—which has not been used in the Philippines for some years.

The only additional cost, therefore, that the maintenance of the Army can be said to entail upon the United States is the additional cost of maintaining 12,000 soldiers in the islands over what it would be to maintain the same number of soldiers in the United States. This has been figured out, and roughly stated amounts to about \$250 a man, or \$3,000,000, together with the maintenance of 4,000 Philippine Scouts at a cost of \$500 a man, or in all \$2,000,000, which makes a total annual expenditure of \$5,000,000. The United States at present contributes something, perhaps \$200,000, to the expense of the coast survey of the islands. With this exception, there is not one cent expended from the Treasury of the United States for the maintenance of the government in the islands. The additional cost of the 12,000 men in the islands, figured above at \$250 a man, includes the cost of transportation and the additional cost of food supplies and other matters.

There is an item of cost which perhaps may be charged to the Philippine Islands. I refer to the expense of fortifying the Bay of Manila, the port of Iloilo, and the port of Cebu, so that in holding the islands the United States shall not be subject to sudden and capricious attack by any ambitious power. This may reach a total of ten millions. But it is hardly fair to charge this to the Philippine policy, for almost everyone concedes the necessity of maintaining and fortifying coaling stations in the Orient whether we have the Philippines or not.

The question is therefore whether, in order to avoid the expenditure of \$5,000,000 a year, the United States should pursue the humiliating policy of scuttle, should run away from an obligation which it has assumed to make the Philippines a permanently self-governing community, and should miss an opportunity at the same time of building up a profitable trade and securing a position in the Orient that can not but be of the utmost advantage in obtaining and maintaining its proper proportion of Asiatic and Pacific trade.

From time to time there has been quite severe criticism of the present Philippine government on the ground that it is such an expensive government as to be burdensome to the people. The facts are that the taxes which fall upon the common people are much less than they ever were under the Spanish régime. The taxes which fall upon the wealthy are considerably more, because as a matter of fact the Spanish system of taxation was largely devised for the purpose of avoiding taxation of the wealth of the islands. I have not at hand and am not able to insert in this report the figures and statistics which demonstrate this fact. They are now being prepared in Manila, and I hope at some future date to submit them for your consideration. Not only is the comparison to be instituted with the conditions existing under the Spanish régime but also with the taxation of other dependencies. The data with respect to these are difficult to get, and frequently liable greatly to mislead when the conditions of each particular colony are not fully understood and stated. But my information is derived from Gov. Smith and Mr. Forbes that the cost per capita of the government of the Philippines will compare most favorably with that of colonial governments presenting substantially similar conditions.

The reports from the Governor General, the heads of departments and of bureaus have not reached Washington. I was able before I left the islands to read informal drafts of some of them, and much of the information as to the last year's operations I have derived from them. I shall submit the reports immediately upon their arrival.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

I therefore recommend:

First. That legislation be adopted by Congress admitting the products of the Philippine Islands to the markets of the United States, with such reasonable limitations as may remove fear of interference with the tobacco and sugar interests in the United States;

Second. That the present restrictions be removed as to the acquisition of mining claims and the holding of lands by corporations in the Philippines;

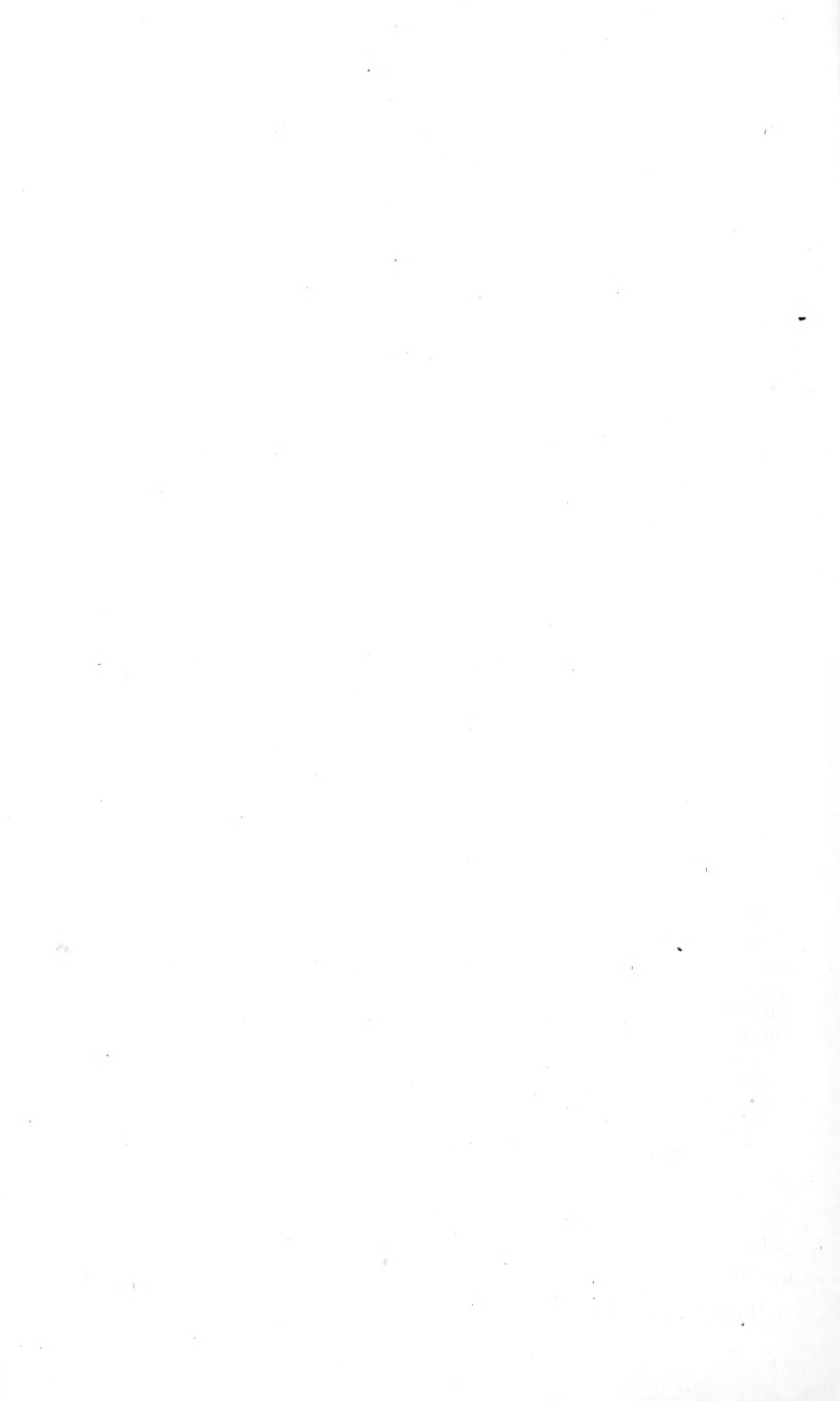
Third. That further legislation be passed authorizing the Philippine government, if it chooses, to open and conduct an agricultural bank with a capital not exceeding \$2,000,000; and

Fourth. That the coastwise laws of the United States be made permanently inapplicable to the trade between the ports of the islands and the ports of the United States.

Sincerely, yours,

WM. H. TAFT.

THE PRESIDENT.



ADDRESS BY WM. H. TAFT, SECRETARY OF WAR, AT
THE INAUGURATION OF THE PHILIPPINE
ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 16, 1907.



ADDRESS BY WM. H. TAFT, SECRETARY OF WAR.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY: President Roosevelt has sent me to convey to you and the Filipino people his congratulations upon another step in the enlargement of popular self-government in these islands. I have the greatest personal pleasure in being the bearer of this message. It is intended for each and every member of the assembly, no matter what his views upon the issues which were presented in the late electoral campaign. It assumes that he is loyal to the government in which he now proposes, under oath of allegiance, to take part. It does not assume that he may not have a wish to bring about, either soon or in the far future, by peaceable means, a transfer of sovereignty; but it does assume that while the present government endures he will loyally do all he lawfully can to uphold its authority and to make it useful to the Filipino people.

I am aware that, in view of the issues discussed at the election of this assembly, I am expected to say something regarding the policy of the United States toward these islands. Before attempting any such task it is well to make clear the fact that I can not speak with the authority of one who may control that policy.

The Philippine Islands are territory belonging to the United States, and by the Constitution the branch of that Government vested with the power and charged with the duty of making rules and regulations for their government is Congress. The policy to be pursued with respect to them is, therefore, ultimately for Congress to determine. Of course, in the act establishing a government for the Philippine Islands passed by Congress July 1, 1902, wide discretion has been vested in the President to shape affairs in the islands, within the limitations of the act, through the appointment of the governor and the commission, and the power of the Secretary of War to supervise their work and to veto proposed legislation, but not only is the transfer of sovereignty to an independent government of the Filipino people wholly within the jurisdiction of Congress, but so also is the extension of any popular political control in the present government beyond that conferred in the organic act. It is embarrassing, therefore, for me, though I am charged with direct supervision of the islands under the President, to deal in any way with issues relating to their ultimate disposition. It is true that the peculiar development of the government of the islands under American sovereignty has given to the attitude of the President upon such issues rather more significance than in most matters of exclusively congressional cognizance. After the exchange of ratifications of the treaty of Paris in April of 1899, and until the organic act of July 1, 1902, Congress acquiesced in the government of the islands by the President as Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy without interference,

and when it passed the organic act it not only confirmed in every respect the anomalous quasi civil government which he had created, but it also made his instructions to the Secretary of War part of its statute and followed therein his recommendation as to future extension of popular political control. This close adherence of Congress to the views of the Executive in respect to the islands in the past gives ground for ascribing to Congress approval of the Philippine policy, as often declared by President McKinley and President Roosevelt. Still, I have no authority to speak for Congress in respect to the ultimate disposition of the islands. I can only express an opinion as one familiar with the circumstances likely to affect Congress in the light of its previous statutory action.

The avowed policy of the national administration under these two Presidents has been and is to govern the islands, having regard to the interest and welfare of the Filipino people, and by the spread of general primary and industrial education and by practice in partial political control to fit the people themselves to maintain a stable and well-ordered government affording equality of right and opportunity to all citizens. The policy looks to the improvement of the people both industrially and in self-governing capacity. As this policy of extending control continues, it must logically reduce and finally end the sovereignty of the United States in the islands, unless it shall seem wise to the American and the Filipino peoples, on account of mutually beneficial trade relations and possible advantage to the islands in their foreign relations, that the bond shall not be completely severed.

How long this process of political preparation of the Filipino people is likely to be is a question which no one can certainly answer. When I was in the islands the last time, I ventured the opinion that it would take considerably longer than a generation. I have not changed my view upon this point; but the issue is one upon which opinions differ. However this may be, I believe that the policy of the administration, as outlined above, is as definite as the policy of any government in a matter of this kind can safely be made. We are engaged in working out a great experiment. No other nation has attempted it, and for us to fix a certain number of years in which the experiment must become a success and be completely realized would be, in my judgment, unwise. As I premised, however, this is a question for settlement by the Congress of the United States.

Our Philippine policy has been subjected to the severest condemnation by critics who occupy points of view as widely apart as the two poles. There are those who say that we have gone too fast, that we have counted on the capacity of the Filipino for political development with a foolish confidence leading to what they regard as the disastrous result of this election. There are others who assert that we have denied the Filipino that which is every man's birth-right—to govern himself—and have been guilty of tyranny and a violation of American principles in not turning the government over to the people of the islands at once.

With your permission, I propose to consider our policy in the light of the events of the six years during which it has been pursued, to array the difficulties of the situation which we have had to meet and to mention in some detail what has been accomplished.

The civil government was inaugurated in 1901 before the close of a war between the forces of the United States and the controlling elements of the Philippine people. It had sufficient popular support to overawe many of those whose disposition was friendly to the Americans. In various Provinces the war was continued intermittently for a year after the appointment of a civil governor in July, 1901. This was not an auspicious beginning for the organization of a people into a peaceful community acknowledging allegiance to an alien power.

Secondly, there was, in the United States, a strong minority party that lost no opportunity to denounce the policy of the Government and to express sympathy with those arrayed in arms against it, and declared in party platform and in other ways its intention, should it come into power, to turn the islands over to an independent government of their people. This not only prolonged the war, but when peace finally came, it encouraged a sullenness on the part of many Filipinos and a lack of interest in the progress and development of the existing government that were discouraging. It offered the hope of immediate independence at the coming of every national election by the defeat of the administration at the polls. This was not of assistance in carrying out a policy that depended for its working on the political education of the people by their cordial participation, first, in the new municipal and provincial governments, and finally in the election of a National Assembly. The result has been that during the educational process there has been a continuing controversy as to the political capacity of the Filipino people. It has naturally been easy to induce a majority of the electorate to believe that they are now capable of maintaining a stable government. All this has tended to divert the people's attention from the existing government, although their useful participation in that must measure their progress toward fitness for complete autonomy.

The impatience of the popular majority for further power may be somewhat mitigated as the extent of the political control which is placed in the hands of the people increases, and as they become more familiar with the responsibilities and the difficulties of actual power. The difference between the attitude of an irresponsible critic who has behind him the easily aroused prejudices of a people against an alien government and that of one who attempts to formulate legislation which shall accomplish a definite purpose for the good of his own people is a healthful lesson for the ambitious statesman to learn.

Other formidable political obstacles had to be overcome. There still remained present in the situation in 1901 the smoldering ashes of the issues which had led the people to rebel against the power of Spain—I mean the prospective continuance of the influence of the regular religious orders in the parochial administration of the Roman Catholic Church in the islands and their ownership of most valuable and extensive agricultural lands in the most populous Provinces. The change of sovereignty to a government which could exercise no control over the church in its selection of its agents made the new régime powerless, by act or decree, to prevent the return of the friars to the parishes, and yet the people were disposed to hold the government responsible whenever this was proposed. It would have

been fraught with great danger of political disturbance. It was also essential that the religious orders should cease to be agricultural landlords in order to eliminate the agrarian question arising between them and 60,000 tenants which had played so large a part in the previous insurrections against Spain. These results were to be attained without offending, or infringing upon the rights of, the Roman Catholic Church, the influence of which for good in the islands could not be denied. Other political difficulties attending the transfer of a sovereignty from a government in which the interests of the state and the church were inextricably united to one in which they must be absolutely separated, I need not stop to elaborate. The religious and property controversies arising out of the Aglipayan schism, and the disturbances caused, added much to the burden of the government.

The novelty of the task for the United States and her people, the lack of the existence of a trained body of colonial administrators and civil servants, the dependence for a time upon men as government agents who had come out in a spirit of adventure to the islands and some of whom proved not to be fitted either by character or experience for the discharge of responsible public duties, gave additional cause for discouragement.

Another great difficulty in working out our policy in these islands has been the reluctance of capitalists to invest money here. Political privileges, if unaccompanied by opportunities to better their condition, are not likely to produce permanent contentment among a people. Hence the political importance of developing the resources of these islands for the benefit of its inhabitants. This can only be done by attracting capital. Capital must have the prospect of security in the investment and a certain return of profit before it will become available. The constant agitation for independence in the islands, apparently supported by the minority party in the United States, and the well-founded fear that an independent Philippine Government now established would not be permanent and stable have made capitalists chary of attempting to develop the natural resources of the islands. The capital which has come has only come reluctantly and on terms less favorable to the public than would have been exacted under other conditions.

Another difficulty of the same character as the last in preventing material progress has been the failure of Congress to open the markets of the United States to the free admission of Philippine sugar and tobacco. In every other way Congress has shown its entire and generous sympathy with the policy of the administration; and in this matter the popular branch of that body passed the requisite bill for the purpose by a large majority. Certain tobacco and sugar interests of the United States, however, succeeded in strangling the measure in the Senate committee. I have good reason for hope that in the next Congress we may be able to secure a compromise measure which shall restore the sugar and tobacco agriculture of the islands to its proper prosperity, and at the same time by limitations upon the amounts of importation allay the fears of injury on the part of the opponents of the measure. Still, the delay in this much-needed relief has greatly retarded the coming of prosperous times and has much discouraged supporters of our policy in America who have thought

this indicated a lack of national purpose to make the present altruistic policy a success.

But the one thing that interfered with material progress in the islands, more than all other causes put together, was the rinderpest, which carried away from 75 to 80 per cent of the cattle that were absolutely indispensable in cultivating, reaping, and disposing of the agricultural products upon which the islands are wholly dependent. The extent of this terrible disaster can not be exaggerated and the islands have not yet recovered from it. Attempts to remedy the evil by the importation of cattle from other countries have proved futile, and the islands can not be made whole in this respect except by the natural reproduction of the small fraction of the animals that escaped destruction. This is not a matter of a year, or of two years or of three years, but a matter of a decade. Then, too, there were in these years surra, locusts, drought, destructive typhoons, cholera, bubonic plague, and smallpox, ladronism, and pulajanism. The long period of disturbance, of guerrilla warfare and unrest, which interfered for years with the carrying on of the peaceful arts of agriculture and made it so easy for those who had been used to work in the fields to assume the wild and loose life of predatory bands claiming to be liberating armies, all made a burden for the community that it was almost impossible for it to bear.

When I consider all these difficulties, which I have rehearsed at too great length, and then take account of the present conditions in the islands, it seems to me that they present an occasion for profound satisfaction and that they fully vindicate the policy which has been pursued.

How have we met the difficulties? In the first place, we have carried out with entire fidelity the promises of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt in respect to the gradual extension of political control in the government as the people should show themselves fit. In 1901 the commission adopted the municipal code, which vested complete autonomy in the adult male citizens of every municipality in the islands, except that of Manila, which for special reasons, like those which have prevailed with respect to the government of the city of Washington, was preserved for control by the central government. The electorate was limited to those who could speak English or Spanish, or who paid a tax of ₱15 a year, or who had filled municipal office under the Spanish régime, and did not exceed 20 per cent of the total adult males of the population. Very shortly after this a form of provincial government was established in which the legislative and executive control of the province was largely vested in a provincial board consisting of a governor and treasurer and supervisor. Provision was made for the election of a governor and the appointment under civil-service rules of a treasurer and supervisor. Subsequently it was found that the government was too expensive and the office of supervisor was finally abolished, and after some four years the board was made to consist of a governor and treasurer and a third member elected as the governor was, thus effecting popular autonomy in the provincial governments. And now comes the assembly.

It is said by one set of critics, to whom I have already referred, that the franchise is the last privilege that ought to be granted in

the development of a people into a self-governing community, and that we have put this into the hands of the Filipinos before they have shown themselves to be industrially and in other ways capable of exercising the self-restraint and conservatism of action which are essential to political stability. I can not agree with this view. The best political education is practice in the exercise of political power, unless the subject is so ignorant as to be wholly blind to his own interests. Hence the exercise of a franchise which is conferred only on those who have qualifications of education or property that prove intelligence and substance, is likely to teach the electorate useful political lessons. The electorate under the Philippine law are sufficiently alive to their own interests to make the exercise of political power a useful training for them, while the power to be exercised is subject to such limitation as not to be dangerous to the community. More than this, the granting of the franchise was most useful in producing tranquillity among the people. The policy has been vindicated by the fact.

The importance of the agency of the Army of the United States in suppressing insurrection I would not minimize in the least; but all who remember clearly the succession of events from 1901 to 1903 will admit that the return to peace and the acquiescence of the Filipino people in American sovereignty were greatly influenced and aided by the prospect held out to the Filipinos of participation in the government of the islands and a gradual extension of popular self-control. Without this and the confidence of the Filipino people in the good purposes of the United States and the patience with which they endured their many burdens that fate seemed to increase, the progress which has been achieved would have been impossible.

Let us consider in some detail what progress has been made.

First. To repeat what I have said, the islands are in a state of tranquillity. On this very day of the opening of the national assembly there has never been a time in the history of the islands when peace and good order have prevailed more generally. The difficulties presented by the controversies arising with and concerning the Roman Catholic Church have either been completely settled or are in process of satisfactory adjustment on a basis of justice and equity.

Second. Most noteworthy progress has been made in the spread of general education. One of the obstacles to the development of this people speaking half a dozen or more different native dialects was a lack of a common language, which would furnish a medium of sympathetic touch with modern thought and civilization. The dense ignorance of a very large proportion of the people emphasized the necessity for a general educational system. English was the language of the sovereign power, English was the business language of the Orient, English was the language in which was thought and written the history of free institutions and popular government, and English was the language to which the common people turned with eagerness to learn. A system of education was built up, and to-day upward of half a million children are being taught to read, write, and recite English. It is not an exaggeration to assert that now more native Filipinos speak English than Spanish, although Spanish was the language of the ruling race in these islands for more than 250 years. English is not so beautiful as the Spanish language, but

it is more likely to prove of use to the Filipinos for the reasons I have given. The strongest basis for our confidence in the future of the Filipino people is the eagerness with which the opportunities extended for education in English have been seized by the poor and ignorant parents of these islands for their children. It is alike pathetic and encouraging.

I am not one of these who believe that much of the public money should be expended here for university or advanced education. Perhaps one institution merely to form a type of higher education may be established at Manila or at some other suitable place in the islands, and special schools to develop needed scientific professions may be useful, but the great part of the public funds expended for education should be used in the spread of primary education and of industrial education—that education which shall fit young men to be good farmers, good mechanics, good skilled laborers, and shall teach them the dignity of labor and that it is no disgrace for the son of a good family to learn his trade and earn his livelihood by it. The higher education is well for those who can use it to advantage, but it too often fits a man to do things for which there is no demand and unfits him for work which there are too few to do. The enlargement of opportunity for higher education may well await private beneficence or be postponed to a period when the calls upon the island treasury for other more important improvements have ceased. We have laid the foundation of a primary and industrial educational system here which, if the same spirit continues in the government, will prove to be the most lasting benefit which has been conferred on these islands by Americans.

Third. We have introduced here a health department which is gradually teaching the people the necessity for sanitation. In the years to come, when the great discoveries of the world are recited, that which will appear to have played as large a part as any in the world's progress in the current hundred years will be the discovery of proper sanitary methods for avoiding disease in the Tropics. The introduction of such methods, the gradual teaching of the people the simple facts affecting hygiene, unpopular and difficult as the process of education has been, will prove to be another one of the great benefits given by Americans to this people.

The efforts of the government have not been confined to preserving the health of the human inhabitants of these islands, but have been properly extended to doing what can be done in the matter of the health of the domestic animals, which is so indispensable to the material progress of the islands. The destruction by rinderpest, by surra, and by other diseases to which cattle and horses are subject, I have already dwelt upon. Most earnest attention has been given by men of the highest scientific attainment to securing some remedy which will make such widespread disasters in the future impossible. Much time and effort and money has been spent and much has been accomplished in this matter. The people are being educated in the necessity for care of their cattle and for inviting in public aid at once when the dread rinderpest shows its presence. Serums have been discovered that have been effective to immunize cattle, and while the disease has not disappeared, it is not too much to say that such an

epidemic as that which visited the islands in 1900, 1901, and 1902 is impossible.

Fourth. A judicial system has been established in the islands which has taught the Filipinos the possibility of the independence of a judiciary. This must be of enduring good to the people of the islands. The personnel of the judges is divided between Americans and Filipinos, both for the purpose of aiding the Americans to learn and administer civil law and of enabling the Filipinos to learn and administer justice according to a system prevailing in a country where the judiciary is absolutely independent of the executive or legislative branches of the Government. Charges have been made that individual judges and particular courts have not been free from executive control and have not been without prejudices arising from the race of the particular judge who sat in the court, but, on the whole, an impartial review of the six years' history of the administration of justice will show that the system has been productive of the greatest good and that right has been sustained without fear or favor. It is entirely natural that a system which departs from the principles of that in which one has been educated should at times attract his severe animadversion, and as the system here administered partakes of two systems, it is subject to the criticism of those trained in each.

Another agency in the administration of justice has been the constabulary. When I was here something more than two years ago, the complaints against that body were numerous, emphatic, and bitter. I promised, on behalf of the Philippine government and the Washington administration, that close investigation should be made into the complaints, and that if there was occasion for reform that reform would be carried out. It gratifies me on my return to the islands now to learn that a change has come, that the complaints against the constabulary have entirely ceased, and that it is now conceded to be discharging with efficiency the function which it was chiefly created to perform, of sympathetically aiding the provincial governors and municipal authorities of the islands in maintaining the peace of each Province and each municipality, and that there is a thorough spirit of cooperation between the officers and men of the constabulary and the local authorities.

In respect to the administration of justice by justices of the peace, reforms have been effected, but I am not sure that there is not still great room for improvement. This is one of the things that come home close to the people of the country and is a subject that will doubtless address itself to the wise action and consideration of the national assembly.

Fifth. We come to the matter of public improvements. The port of Manila has been made into a harbor which is now as secure as any in the Orient, and which, with the docking facilities that are now being rapidly constructed, will be as convenient and as free from charge and burden as any along the Asiatic coast. The improvements in Iloilo and Cebu Harbors, the other two important ports of the islands, are also rapidly progressing. Road building has proceeded in the islands, both at the instance of the central government and through the agency of the Provinces. The difficulties of road building and road maintaining in the Philippines are little understood by those not familiar with the difficulty of securing proper

material to resist the enormous wear and tear caused by the torrential downpours of the rainy season. Progress in this direction must necessarily be gradual, for the islands are a poor country, comparatively speaking, and roads are expensive.

Early in the history of the islands we began the construction of a road from Pangasinan to the mountains of Benguet, in order to bring within the reach of the people of the islands that healthful region where the thermometer varies from 40 to 80 degrees and in which all the diseases of the Tropics are much more easily subject to cure than in the lowlands. Had it been supposed that the road thus to be constructed would involve an expense of nearly \$2,000,000, the work would not have been begun, but, now that the road has been constructed, I would not undo what has been done, even if it were possible. As time progresses the whole Province of Benguet will be settled; there will be made the home of many educational institutions, of many sanitariums, and there will go, as transportation becomes cheaper, the Filipino people to obtain a change of air and acquire a renewed strength that is given to tropical peoples by a visit to the Temperate Zone.

When the Americans came to the islands there was one railroad 120 miles long, and that was all. In spite of circumstances, which I have already detailed, making capital reluctant to come here, contracts have now been entered into, that are in the course of fulfillment, which in five years will give to the islands a railroad mileage of 1,000 miles. The construction of these roads will involve the investment of twenty to thirty millions of dollars, and that in itself means an added prosperity to the country, additional demands for labor, and the quickening of all the nerves of trade. When the work is finished, it means a great additional profit to agriculture, a very great enlargement of the export capacity of the islands, and a substantial elevation of the material condition of the people.

In the matter of municipal improvements, which directly concern the people, that which has taken place in Manila is most prominent. The improvement of the streets, the introduction of a satisfactory street railway system 35 miles in length, the improvement of the general appearance of the city and its hygienic condition, the construction of new waterworks and a new sewage system, all strike one who knew the city in 1900. The improvements of other municipalities in the islands have not kept pace with those in Manila, and of course they were not so imperatively needed; but the epidemics of cholera and plague and smallpox which have prevailed have convinced those in authority of the necessity of bettering the water supply of all municipalities and for improving this by the sinking of artesian wells and other means, so that bad water, that frightful source of the transmission of disease, should be reduced to a minimum.

The Government now maintains and operates a more complete system of posts, telephones, and telegraphs than ever before in the history of the islands. Seventy-five per cent of the 652 municipalities now established in these islands have post offices, in 235 of which there are now opened for business postal savings banks. The telegraph or telephone now connects all of the provincial capitals with Manila and more than 90 offices are now open for business.

Appropriation has been made to provide for a system of rural free delivery. In less than one year of operation the Postal Savings Bank has deposits exceeding ₱600,000, and the number of Filipino depositors now exceeds 1,000, and the proportion of their deposits is steadily increasing.

Sixth. We have inaugurated a civil-service law for the selection of civil servants upon the merit system. On the whole it has worked well. It has grown with our experience and has improved with the disclosure of its defects.

One of the burning questions which constantly presents itself in respect to the civil service of a Government like this is, how far it shall be American and how far Filipino. In the outset it was essential that most of the civil servants of the Government should be Americans. The Government was English speaking, and the practical difficulty of having subordinates who did not speak that language prevented large employment of Filipinos. Then their lack of knowledge of their American governmental and business methods had the same tendency. The avowed policy of the Government has been to employ Filipinos wherever, as between them and Americans, the Filipinos can do equally good work. This has given rise to frequent and bitter criticism, because it has been improperly assumed that every time that there has been a vacancy it could be filled by a Filipino. There are two great advantages in the employment of Filipinos—one is that this is the Government of the Filipinos and they ought to be employed where they can be, and the other is that their employment is a matter of economy for the Government, because they are able to live more cheaply and economically in the islands than Americans and so can afford to receive less salary. There has, therefore, been a constant reduction of American employees and an increase of Filipinos. This has not been without its disadvantage because it makes competent American employees feel an uncertainty of tenure, and materially affects their hopes of promotion and their interest in the Government of which they are a part. This disadvantage I believe can be largely obviated.

There are many American civil servants in this government who have rendered most loyal, difficult, and efficient service, in season and out of season, through plague and epidemic, in sickness and in health, in full sympathy with the purposes and policy of the government. Without them our government would have been a complete failure. They will never receive adequate reward. Their interest in their work has prevented their return to their native land, where the same energy and efficiency would have earned them large return. They are most valuable public servants who have done a work that, had they done it in the English colonial service or at home, would have been certain to secure to them a permanent salary and entire freedom from anxiety as to the future. I would be glad to see adopted a system of permanent tenure and retirement on pensions for the small and higher classes of civil employees. Their continuance in the government indefinitely is a public necessity. I sincerely hope the Philippine Assembly will exhibit its spirit of justice and public interest to the point of concurring in such a measure, even though this, at present, will be of benefit to more Americans than Filipinos.

Seventh. In the progress which has been made I should mention the land system, the provision for homestead settlement, for free

patents, and for perfecting of imperfect titles by land registration. The homestead settlements under the law were very few for several years, but I am delighted to learn that during 1907 they reached 4,000 and the free patents applied for were 10,600. It is probable that the machinery for land registration, though necessary, is too expensive, and it will be for you to decide whether, in view of the great public benefit that good land titles will bring to the country, it may not be wise to reduce the cost of registration to the landowner and charge the expense to the government. Capital will not be advanced to the farmer unless his title is good, and the great benefit of an agricultural bank can never be realized until the registration of titles is greatly increased.

This naturally brings me to the subject of the agricultural bank. After much effort Congress was induced to pass an act which authorizes the Philippine government to invite the organization of such a bank with private capital by guaranteeing an annual income of a certain percentage on the capital invested for 30 years. Negotiations have been opened and are pending with some American capitalists in the hope of securing the establishment of such a bank.

The condition of agriculture in the islands, while generally much improved in the last three years, is still unsatisfactory in many parts of the islands, due not only to the continued scarcity of cattle but also to the destructive effect of the typhoon of 1905 upon the hemp culture. This has properly led to the suspension of the land tax for another year and the meeting of half the deficit in provincial and municipal treasuries thus produced out of the central treasury.

The production of rice has, however, materially increased. It is also a source of satisfaction to note that the exports from the islands, which are wholly agricultural, are larger in value by half a million gold dollars than ever in the history of the islands. One of the chief duties of this assembly is to devote its attention and practical knowledge to measures for the relief of agriculture.

Eighth. The financial condition of the Philippine government is quite satisfactory, and so, too, is the state of the money and currency of the islands. There is a bonded indebtedness for the purchase of friar lands amounting to \$7,000,000, for the waterworks and sewage of Manila of \$3,000,000, and for public works amounting to \$3,500,000. Sinking funds have been established for all of these. The price paid for the friar lands was a round one, and may result, after the lands are disposed of, in some net pecuniary loss to the government, but the political benefit of the purchase was a full justification. The lands will be disposed of to the tenants as rapidly as the public interest will permit. The only other permanent obligation of the government is the contingent liability on the guaranty of interest for 30 years on the bonds issued to construct 300 miles of railroad in the Visayas. We may reasonably hope that this obligation will soon reduce itself to nothing when the roads come into successful operation. The governor general reports to me that the budget for 1908 will show an income and surplus from last year, without any land tax, from which it will be possible to pay all the interest on the bonds and guaranties, all the insular expenses, the proper part of the expenses of Manila, \$2,000,000 in permanent improvements, and still have on hand for contingencies \$1,000,000. I

am further advised that the condition of most of the Provinces is excellent in respect to income and surplus.

It has been necessary to reduce the silver in the Philippine peso to keep its intrinsic value within the value of 50 cents gold, at which it is the duty of the government to maintain it, and this change is being rapidly carried through without much difficulty. The benefit to the people, and especially the poorer and working classes, in the establishment of the gold standard is very great. It eliminates a gambling feature from the business of the islands that always worked for the detriment of the Philippine people. We are just carrying through a settlement with the Spanish-Filipino Bank which I hope will provide a means of safely adding to the currency of the country and increasing its elasticity.

In recounting these various evidences of progress in the last six years I am not unmindful that the business of the islands is still far from prosperous. Indeed, it is noteworthy that so much progress has been made in the face of continued business depression due to the various causes I have elsewhere enumerated; but it is a long lane that has no turning, and I look forward to the next decade in the history of the islands as one which will be as prosperous as this one has been the reverse. Business is reviving, the investment of foreign capital is gradually increasing, and only one thing is needed to insure great material improvement and that is the continuance of conservatism in this government. I feel confident that the inauguration of this assembly, instead of ending this conservatism as the prophets of evil would have it, will strengthen it.

Before discussing the assembly I wish to give attention to one report that has been spread to the four corners of the globe, and which, if credited, might have a pernicious effect in these islands. I refer to the statement that the American Government is about to sell the islands to some Asiatic or European power. Those who credit such a report little understand the motives which actuated the American people in accepting the burden of this government. The majority of the American people are still in favor of carrying out our Philippine policy as a great altruistic work. They have no selfish object to secure. There might be a grim and temporary satisfaction to those of us who have been subjected to severe criticism for our alleged lack of liberality toward the Filipino people and of sympathy with their aspirations, in witnessing the rigid governmental control which would be exercised over the people of the islands under the colonial policy of any one of the powers to whom it is suggested that we are about to sell them; but that would not excuse or justify the gross violation, by such a sale, of the implied obligation which we have entered into with the Filipino people. That obligation presents only two alternatives for us—one is a permanent maintenance of a popular government of law and order under American control, and the other a parting with such control to the people of the islands themselves after they have become fitted to maintain a government in which the right of all the inhabitants to life, liberty, and property shall be secure. I do not hesitate to pronounce the report that the Government contemplates the transfer of these islands to any foreign power as utterly without foundation. It has never entered the mind of a single person in the Government

responsible for the administration. Such a sale must be the subject of a treaty, and the treaty power in the Government of the United States is exercised by the President and the Senate, and only upon the initiative of the President. Hence an Executive declaration upon this subject is more authoritative than an Executive opinion as to probable congressional action.

Coming now to the real occasion of this celebration, the installation of the national assembly, I wish, for purposes of clearness, to read the section of the organic act under which this assembly has been elected:

That two years after the completion and publication of the census, in case such condition of general and complete peace with recognition of the authority of the United States shall have continued in the territory of said islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes and such facts shall have been certified to the President by the Philippine Commission, the President upon being satisfied thereof shall direct said commission to call, and the commission shall call, a general election for the choice of delegates to a popular assembly of the people of said territory in the Philippine Islands, which shall be known as the Philippine Assembly. After said assembly shall have convened and organized, all the legislative power heretofore conferred on the Philippine Commission in all that part of said islands not inhabited by Moros or other non-Christian tribes shall be vested in a legislature consisting of two houses—the Philippine Commission and the Philippine Assembly. Said assembly shall consist of not less than 50 nor more than 100 members, to be apportioned by said commission among the provinces as nearly as practicable according to population: *Provided*, That no province shall have less than one member: *And provided further*, That provinces entitled by population to more than one member may be divided into such convenient districts as the said commission may deem best.

Public notice of such division shall be given at least 90 days prior to such election, and the elections shall be held under rules and regulations to be prescribed by law. The qualification of electors in such election shall be the same as is now provided by law in case of electors in municipal elections. The members of assembly shall hold office for two years from the 1st day of January next following their election, and their successors shall be chosen by the people every second year thereafter. No person shall be eligible to such election who is not a qualified elector of the election district in which he may be chosen, owing allegiance to the United States, and 25 years of age.

The legislature shall hold annual sessions, commencing on the first Monday of February in each year and continuing not exceeding 90 days thereafter (Sundays and holidays not included): *Provided*, That the first meeting of the legislature shall be held upon the call of the governor within 90 days after the first election: *And provided further*, That if at the termination of any session the appropriations necessary for the support of the government shall not have been made, an amount equal to the sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills for such purposes shall be deemed to be appropriated; and until the legislature shall act in such behalf the treasurer may, with the advice of the governor, make the payments necessary for the purposes aforesaid.

The legislature may be called in special session at any time by the civil governor for general legislation, or for action on such specific subjects as he may designate. No special session shall continue longer than 30 days, exclusive of Sundays.

The assembly shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its members. A majority shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members. It shall choose its speaker and other officers, and the salaries of its members and officers shall be fixed by law. It may determine the rule of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds expel a member. It shall keep a journal of its proceedings, which shall be published, and the yeas and nays of the members on any question shall, on the demand of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

I can well remember when that section was drafted in the private office of Mr. Root in his house in Washington. Only he and I were

present. I urged the wisdom of the concession and he yielded to my arguments and the section as then drafted differed but little from the form it has to-day. It was embodied in a bill presented to the House and passed by the House, was considered by the Senate, was stricken out in the Senate, and was only restored after a conference, the Senators in the conference consenting to its insertion with great reluctance. I had urged its adoption upon both committees, and, as the then governor of the islands, had to assume a responsibility as guarantor in respect to it which I have never sought to disavow. I believe that it is a step and a logical step in the carrying out of the policy announced by President McKinley and that it is not too radical in the interest of the people of the Philippine Islands. Its effect is to give to a representative body of the Filipinos a right to initiate legislation, to modify, amend, shape, or defeat legislation proposed by the Commission. The power to obstruct by withholding appropriations is taken away from the assembly, because if there is not an agreement as to appropriations between the commission and the assembly, then the appropriations of the previous year will be continued; but the power with this exception, absolutely to veto all legislation and initiate and shape proposed laws is a most substantial one. The concurrence of the assembly in useful legislation can not but command popular support for its enforcement; the discussion in the assembly and its attitude must be informing to the executive and to the other branch of the legislature, the commission, of what are the desires of people. The discharge of the functions of the assembly must give to the chosen representatives of the Philippine electorate a most valuable education in the responsibilities and difficulties of practical government. It will put them where they must investigate not only the theoretical wisdom of proposed measures, but also the question whether they can be practically enforced and whether, where expense is involved, they are of sufficient value to justify the imposition of a financial burden upon the people to carry them out. It will bring the members of the assembly as representatives of the people into close relations with the executive, who will be most anxious to preserve a harmony essential to efficient government and progressive, useful measures of reform.

Critics who do not sympathize with our Philippine policy, together with those who were reluctant to grant this measure of a legislative assembly to the Philippine people at this time, have not been slow to comment on the result of the election as an indication that we are going too fast. I differ entirely from the view of these critics as to the result of this election and the inferences to be drawn from it.

The small total vote as compared with the probable number of the total electorate shows that a considerable majority of those entitled to vote did not exercise the privilege. This indicates either an indifference or a timidity that we would not find in a people more used to the wielding of political power; but it affords no reason for supposing that as the assembly proves its usefulness and important power the ratio of votes to the total electorate will not rapidly increase.

The election was held without disturbance. In many districts there were bitter controversies, but the complaints of fraud, violence, or bribery are insignificant. Although the Government was sup-

posed to favor one party, and was subject to much criticism in the campaign, no one has been heard to say that the power of the Executive was exerted in any way improperly to influence the election. This furnishes a good object lesson.

A popular majority of those who exercise the franchise have voted for representatives announcing a desire for the immediate separation of the islands from the United States. This majority is a small one when the returns are carefully considered and is much less than the ratio between the party representatives in the assembly would lead one to suppose. However, assuming a decided majority for immediate independence, the result is one which I thought possible even while I was urging the creation of the assembly. It is not a disappointment. If it indicated that a majority of the representatives elected by the people were a body of irreconcilables determined to do nothing but obstruct the present government, it would indeed be discouraging; but I am confident from what I know and hear of the gentlemen who have been elected that, while many of them differ with me as to the time in which the people of the islands will become fit for complete self-government, most of them have an earnest desire that this government shall be carried on in the interests of the people of the Philippines and for their benefit, and shall be made for that purpose as effective as possible. They are thus generally conservative. Those whose sole aim is to hold up the government to execration, to win away the sympathy of the people in order to promote disturbance and violence, have no proper place in this assembly. Had the Filipino people sent such a majority, then I should have to admit that the granting of the assembly was a mistake and that Congress must abolish it.

It has been reported in the islands that I was coming here for the purpose of expressing, in bitter and threatening words, my disappointment at the result of the election. Nothing could be further from my purpose, nothing could be less truly descriptive of my condition of mind. I am here, filled with a spirit of friendship and encouragement for these members who now enter upon a new field in which they have much to learn, but where everything can be learned and this duty most efficiently discharged if they are led by an earnest desire to assist and guide the government in aiding the people. I have no right to appeal to the members of this assembly to conduct themselves in the discharge of their high duties in a manner to vindicate me in the responsibility I assumed in urging Congress to establish this assembly, because they should find a stronger reason for so doing in their sworn duty; but it is not inappropriate for me to touch on this personal feature of the situation, because my attitude has been misconstrued and my sympathetic interest in, and hope for, the success and usefulness of this national assembly have not been properly stated.

I venture to point out a number of things that you will learn in the course of your legislative experience. One is that the real object of a legislature is to formulate specific laws to accomplish specific purposes and reforms and to suppress specific evils; that he makes a useful speech who studies the question which he discusses and acquires and imparts practical information by which the remedies offered can be seen to be applicable to the evil complained of; that the office of a

legislator for a great country like this is one that can be discharged conscientiously only by the use of great labor, careful, painstaking investigation and hard work in the preparation of proposed measures. One of the most necessary traits in a successful legislator or executive is patience. Where the sudden change in that which is regarded as a wrong system may paralyze a necessary arm of the government, ways and means must be devised to bring about the change gradually. There will be a temptation to take up measures which will invite the support of popular prejudice rather than measures which will really accomplish good for the body politic. Such a temptation exists in older legislative bodies than this, and we can not hope that it will be absent from here; but, in the end, the man who exerts the most influence in this body and among the people will be the man who devotes most conscientiously his time to acquiring the information upon which legislation should be based and in explaining it to his colleagues and his people. The man who is seeking to put his adversary or the government in an embarrassing situation may win temporary triumph; but the man who himself feels responsibility of government, and who, while not concealing or failing to state the evils which he considers to exist in the government, is using every effort to reform those evils, will ultimately be regarded as the benefactor of his country.

I have not the time and doubtless not the information which would justify me in pointing out to the assembly the various subjects matter to which they may profitably devote their attention with a view to the formulation of useful legislation. They will properly feel called upon to devote their attention to public economy in the matter of the numerous governmental bureaus which have been made the subject of criticism. It is quite possible that they may find in their investigations into these matters reasons for cutting off officers and bureaus, but I sincerely hope that no such effort will be made until a full investigation is had into the utility of the functions which the bureau performs and the possibility of dispensing with them. I can remember that while I was governor there was much outcry against the extravagance of maintaining certain bureaus which in subsequent crises in the public welfare proved their great usefulness beyond cavil. Of course we shall encounter in this investigation and discussion a radical difference between legislators and others as to the function which a government in these islands ought to perform. It is entirely easy to run an economical government if all that you do is to maintain order and if no steps are taken to promote health, to promote education, and to promote the general welfare of the inhabitants. It is, of course, the object of the person charged with the duty of governing a country to reach the golden mean—that is, to make governmental provisions for the welfare of the people without imposing too great a tax burden for the purpose. The taxes in this country are imposed partly by the legislature and partly by Congress. The former will constantly have your attention. In so far as the welfare of the country is affected by the latter, to wit, the customs duties, and can be improved by a change of them, it would be wise for the legislature to devote much time and thought to recommendations to Congress as to how they should be changed, for I doubt not that Congress will be willing and anxious to take such steps as may

commend themselves to the people of the islands in the matter of adjustment of duties, having regard to the raising of sufficient revenue on the one hand and to as little interference with useful freedom of trade as possible on the other.

As you shall conduct your proceedings and shape your legislation on patriotic, intelligent, conservative, and useful lines, you will show more emphatically than in any other way your right and capacity to take part in the government and the wisdom of granting to your assembly and to the people that elected you, more power. There are still many possible intervals or steps between the power you now exercise and complete autonomy. Will this assembly and its successors manifest such an interest in the welfare of the people and such clear-headed comprehension of their sworn duty as to call for a greater extension of political power to this body and to the people whose representative it is? Or shall it, by neglect, obstruction, and absence of useful service, make it necessary to take away its existing powers on the ground that they have been prematurely granted? Upon you falls this heavy responsibility. I am assured that you will meet it with earnestness, courage, and credit.

In closing I can only renew my congratulations upon the auspicious beginning of your legislative life in a fair election, and to express to you my heartfelt sympathy in the work which you are about to undertake, and my confidence that you will justify in what you do, and do not do, the recommendations of those who are responsible for that section in the organic act that has given life to this assembly.

**SPECIAL REPORT OF J. M. DICKINSON, SECRETARY
OF WAR, TO THE PRESIDENT ON THE
PHILIPPINES, NOVEMBER 23, 1910.**



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SPECIAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF WAR.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, D. C., November 23, 1910.

MR. PRESIDENT:

In pursuance of your direction I visited the Philippine Islands, sailing from San Francisco on the 28th day of June last and returning to Washington on the 7th day of November.

I reached Manila on Sunday, the 24th day of July, 1910, and remained in the islands until September 3, 1910. Of this time, I spent 13 days in Manila, the remainder of the time being devoted to visiting various portions of the islands. My itinerary was substantially as follows:

1910.

- July 24. Manila.
- 25. Manila.
- 26. Manila.
- 27. Fort William McKinley and Manila.
- 28. Inspection of Corregidor and Cavite, returning in evening to Manila.
- 28. Manila, leaving about midnight by boat for Olongapo.
- 30. Inspection of Olongapo and Subic Bay, leaving in afternoon by boat for Tagudin.
- 31. Overland trip by horse from Tagudin to Cervantes.
- Aug. 1. Overland trip by horse from Cervantes to Bontoc.
- 2. Bontoc.
- 3. Overland trip by horse from Bontoc to Cervantes.
- 4. Overland trip by horse from Cervantes to Tagudin; leaving Tagudin in evening by boat for San Fabian.
- 5. Arrived in early morning at San Fabian; train from San Fabian to Camp No. 1; automobile from San Fabian to Baguio, arriving at Baguio before luncheon.
- 6. Baguio; Camp John Hay.
- 7. Baguio and vicinity; Mirador Observatory; stock farm.
- 8. Left Baguio about 8.30 a. m.; automobile to Camp No. 1; automobile inspection of Province of Pangasinan; inauguration of two bridges at Dagupan and trade school at Lingayen; spent night at Lingayen.
- 9. Left Lingayen by automobile early morning of August 9; arriving at Dagupan, took train, returning to Manila, stopping en route at San Fernando, Province of Pampanga, and Camp Stotsenberg.
- 10. Manila.
- 11. Manila.
- 12. Manila.
- 13. Manila, leaving by boat about midnight for southern trip.
- 14. Arrived in afternoon at Lucena, spending night there.
- 15. Morning; by automobile to Antimonan, stopping short time for reception and leaving same day by boat for Tabaco.
- 16. Tabaco to Legaspi by automobile; inspection of Batan coal mine, island of Batan; return to Legaspi and Albay; afternoon and evening at Albay; left same night for Catbalogan by boat.
- 17. Arrived Catbalogan afternoon, short stop; left by boat for Cebu.
- 18. Arrived in morning at Cebu; afternoon, inspection of railroad to Danao, returning by automobile; spent night in Cebu.

1910.

- Aug. 19. Cebu; inspection of railroad to Argao, returning by train to Cebu; left Cebu for Camp Overton.
20. Arrived in morning at Camp Overton; started on overland trip to Malabang inspecting Camp Keithley and spending night there.
21. Continued trip to Malabang, spending night there.
22. Left Malabang; trip by boat up Cotabato River to town of Cotabato; evening, left for Zamboanga.
23. Arrived on morning of August 23 at Zamboanga; left about midnight for Jolo.
24. Arrived at Jolo in morning; spent day there; left Jolo for Puerto Princesa.
26. Arrived in morning at Puerto Princesa; inspection of Army post; trip up Iwahig River to Iwahig penal colony; evening left Puerto Princesa for Iloilo.
27. Arrived in evening at Iloilo; spent night there.
28. Iloilo; left Iloilo about noon for Capiz, arriving in Capiz in evening; left Capiz about midnight for Manila.
29. At sea.
30. Arrived in morning at Manila.
31. Manila and visit to Los Baños.
- Sept. 1. Manila.
2. Manila.
3. Sailed from Manila about 5 o'clock a. m.

Practically all of the public institutions at places visited by me were examined. I went into the details of administration with as much care as the time permitted. Both in public and private audiences, opportunities were given everywhere to all who desired to freely discuss any questions with me. Several public hearings were held by previous announcement in Manila and all were free to attend. At all points visited the Army posts were inspected. I gave special attention to Corregidor and its defenses, spending a day there. In all that I said, both publicly and privately, I held steadily in view the statement made by you to the President in your special report of January 23, 1908, that—

the national policy is to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of popular self-government.

The work of preparing the Filipinos for popular self-government is steadily progressing along the lines which have been approved by you. I shall refer more particularly to the various kinds of administrative work, but will here say that the administration of the various departments is in a generally satisfactory condition, and that the best results are being attained with the means at hand and under the conditions that must be contended with.

On the whole I believe that the administration of the islands is such that it should give satisfaction to the American people.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE.

In your report above referred to you say (p. 7):

What should be emphasized in the statement of our national policy is that we wish to prepare the Filipinos for popular self-government. This is plain from Mr. McKinley's letter of instructions and all of his utterances. It was not at all within his purpose or that of the Congress which made his letter part of the law of the land that we were merely to await the organization of a Philippine oligarchy or aristocracy competent to administer government and then turn the islands over to it. On the contrary, it is plain, from all of Mr. McKinley's utterances and your own, in interpretation of our national purpose, that we

are the trustees and guardians of the whole Filipino people, and peculiarly of the ignorant masses, and that our trust is not discharged until those masses are given education sufficient to know their civil rights and maintain them against a more powerful class and safely to exercise the political franchise.

You also stated (p. 8):

Another logical deduction from the main proposition is that when the Filipino people as a whole show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it. The standard set, of course, is not that of perfection or such a governmental capacity as that of an Anglo-Saxon people, but it certainly ought to be one of such popular political capacity that complete the independence in its exercise will result in progress rather than retrogression to chaos or tyranny.

By the standard thus laid down, the Filipino people are substantially in the same attitude as when you visited them in 1907. Training in administrative work and education is doing much, but they have affected such a small percentage of the population that the change is hardly sensible.

The results will manifest themselves in a rapidly increasing ratio when those who are now being educated reach an age when their influence can be felt in public life. There are very many highly educated Filipinos, many men of talent, ability, and brilliancy, but the percentage in comparison with those who are wholly untrained in an understanding of, and the exercise of, political rights under a republican form of government is so small, and under the best and most rapid development possible under existing conditions will for a long period continue so small that it is a delusion, if the present policy of control of the islands by the American people shall continue, to encourage the Filipino people in the hope that the administration of the islands will be turned over to them within the time of the present generation. The only inhabitants of the islands that are making any marked progress in preparation for self-government are the Filipinos proper, and, as stated, but a small percentage of these are sufficiently educated to understand and administer republican institutions. The masses of them have no knowledge or conception of self-government, take no real interest in and have no knowledge of general administration, and are under the control of leaders whose will is practically their law.

Caciquism, i. e. local "bossism," is just as potential now as ever.

A keen interest is manifested in education and the people cheerfully submit to the burden of taxation imposed, both for general education and for manual training. It can not, however, be expected that mere education in schools will give that training to a people which is necessary for sustaining the fabric of a constitutional government. The Filipino people proper present the most encouraging phase of the question. They constitute about 91 per cent of the entire population of the islands. Of the remaining population about 40 per cent are wild tribes who inhabit northern Luzon. These people have absolutely no conception of government except that of force, to which, if justly administered, they cheerfully submit. Until recently many of them were headhunters, and now they are only restrained from savage practices by military control. It is more than doubtful if any kind of training will make them capable, as a mass, of intelligently participating in the administration of self-govern-

ment. Certainly no such transformation can be expected, under the most favorable conditions, within a century.

If the withdrawal by the United States from the administration of political affairs of the Filipinos shall be postponed until these people are fit for participation in self-government, then the time therefor will necessarily be in the very remote future, if it shall ever arrive. My judgment is that if the masses of the Filipino people shall attain to that degree of fitness that will warrant the turning over to them of political autonomy they can be intrusted to take over the control of these wild tribes, and that the realization of their own political independence should not be substantially retarded by having their political fate linked with people so backward and comparatively so small in number inhabiting the same island with them.

The Moro Province presents greater difficulty. There are about 500,000 Moros and Pagans living in the area confined geographically to the Sulu group, the Lake Lanao Basin, the Rio Grande Valley, and inhabiting numerous points near the mouths of small rivers and in protected bays along the coast line of the Zamboanga Peninsula and the southern coast of Mindanao, reaching to the Gulf of Davao. In this area, principally in the vicinity of Zamboanga and Dapitan, with small villages at Iligan, Jolo, Cotabato, Davao, Caraga, Baganga, and Cateel, there are about 50,000 Christian Filipinos, many of whom have gone there in recent years. The Moros are Mohammedans, and are firmly fixed in their religious belief. They are warlike, manly, independent, and have a strong hostility for the Filipinos. They have no conception of a republican form of government. The only government which they know is autocratic. They are peaceful now, because they have been subjected to military power and are controlled with firmness and justice, which they appreciate. The main province of our army among the Moros is merely to keep the peace among them. They would have to be essentially re-created to make of them an integral governing part of a republican government uniting them with the Filipinos. If Filipino independence is to be postponed until such a condition can be brought about, then its realization is so remote as to make it not worth while now being contemplated. If, on the other hand, a separate government for and by the Moros be erected, it is certain that it would be but a short time before they would be taken by some other nation, unless the United States should extend its protectorate over them.

Advantage was taken of the announcement of my coming by politicians, through the press and in other ways, to stimulate a general demand for immediate independence. The impression was made upon the minds of many of the masses that the Secretary of War had either the power to grant immediate independence or that recommendations made by him would result in the granting of immediate independence. In Manila and throughout my journey, wherever Filipinos were established in any numbers, the result of this teaching was made manifest by the erection of numerous arches with inscriptions, either asking or demanding independence, some of them using the term "immediate independence," and by the speeches of the orators and the presentation of petitions and letters. The similarity in the movements everywhere and the form of expression indicated very clearly that a concerted campaign had been made to

elicit such demonstrations. I do not mean by this to indicate that these were not exponents of their genuine feeling, for the nature of our relations to the Philippines and our purpose in respect to them as defined in all authoritative utterances are not only compatible with, but a stimulant to, the growth of such sentiments. The significant and questionable feature was that stirring up the people to such demonstrations was calculated to engender expectations as to immediate independence which would certainly be disappointed, and thereby result in discontent with the present administration of affairs, and operate as an encouragement to those who are sowing the seeds of discord between the American Government and the Filipino people, all of which tends to retard the development for which we are striving.

Inasmuch as I promised all who addressed communications to me on the subject of Philippine independence and other matters of a public nature to bring their views and wishes directly to your attention, I append herewith a list, marked "Appendix A," setting forth the names of the petitioners and the subjects of the petitions.

I also append the report, marked "Appendix B," of the public hearing at Manila in the Marble Hall of the Ayuntamiento, on September 1, 1910, which was largely attended and attracted much notice in the public prints.

Inasmuch as they are not merely expressions of personal views, but are authoritative expressions of the two political parties in the Philippines, I call your special attention to the memorials of the Nacionalista, of the Nacionalista and Progresista parties, and of the popular Nacionalista League, attached hereto and marked Appendixes "C," "D," and "E," respectively.

There is no doubt that so far as publicly expressed, the general desire of the Filipinos is for what they denominate "immediate independence."

Those who are intelligent do not expect immediate independence, even if their views should be acceded to on the part of the American people, but rather that steps shall be taken as early as practicable which will result in the near future in turning over to the Philippine people the administration of their own affairs. While, as stated, these are the only views publicly expressed, I became convinced from reliable evidence that many of the most substantial men, while not openly opposing the demands publicly voiced, would regard such a consummation with consternation. They realize that the government would fall into the hands of a few who would dominate the masses; that the administration, even without outside interference, could not be successfully carried on; that there would be internal dissensions and probably civil war; and that if the United States did not interfere they would fall an easy prey to some foreign power.

I took prompt steps to undeceive, so far as I could, those who had formed a misapprehension either as to my power or mission, and reiterated in public speeches that the future relations between the Philippines and the United States would be determined by Congress, and that there had been no authoritative departure from the doctrines laid down by you in your utterances upon that subject when Secretary of War.

LAW AND ORDER.

At the present writing peace, law, and order prevail throughout the islands. There is no organized opposition anywhere to the United States Government. Within the last year only two outbreaks have occurred, and they were insignificant. In the island of Palawan some Moros had been lawless, and Gov. Miller, now deceased, had notified them that they must surrender. After the unfortunate drowning of Gov. Miller, Commissioner Worcester went to the island and he and his party were met as friends and afterwards were treacherously attacked by these Moros. The attack was repelled, resulting in the death of 10 Moros. A number of these people were fugitives from justice from Mindanao and Borneo. There was no general outbreak.

While I was in Manila, Mandac, who had been convicted of killing and fled the country, forfeiting his bond, returned to the islands and went to the Province of Nueva Vizcaya and captured the town of Solano, looted the treasury, and carried off several priests. There was a slight engagement with the constabulary and his forces were routed. He himself was captured by the natives and turned over to the authorities, which is an evidence of good will on the part of the people toward the government.

The ladrones or robber bands are almost if not entirely suppressed. One of their leaders, Felipe Salvador, was captured while I was in Manila. His followers had long since deserted him and he was a fugitive from justice.

There is no disorder at present in the northern provinces. At Bontoc, the headhunting tribes, who a year were engaged in taking heads, met together while I was there, in a parade and general festivities. There have been no hostilities between these people within the last year. I talked with the chief men and they expressed themselves as satisfied with the administration of the governors of these provinces. Now that they feel safe in their lives and property they are devoting themselves with a feeling of security to agriculture and are enjoying more of the comforts of life than at any previous time. Substantially the same state of peace prevails in the Mountain and the Moro Provinces, containing the non-Christian tribes, and the same content with the government. All of these wild people have found out that the United States are not exploiting them, but that everything that is done in the way of control results to their immediate benefit, and that what is exacted from them in taxation is spent in their midst for roads, educational and other public purposes, the result of which they see and appreciate.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Although the legislative assembly is controlled by the Nacionalista Party, which was organized in opposition to those who favored American control, and it was anticipated that they would use their power to obstruct administration, the result has demonstrated that responsibility steadies action. So far from raising captious opposition, they have enacted laws for the promotion of development and progress along the lines advocated by the Governor General. They have been liberal in their support of education and internal improvements.

Laws on the following subjects were passed at the last session of the Philippine Legislature:

To transfer the bureau of agriculture from the department of the interior to that of public instruction.

To increase the appropriation for current expenses of the bureau of education for the fiscal year 1910, and appropriating ₱150,000 therefor.

To provide for the construction of barrio schools upon public lands or lands of the municipal, provincial, or insular government, and to prohibit their sale or use for other than school purposes.

To establish classes for the instruction and training of male and female nurses under the supervision of the director of health.

To extend to 10 years the period during which timber, firewood, resin, stone, earth, and other forest products may be cut or taken from the public forests without the payment of forestry charges.

To provide for the filing with the executive bureau of the first deed of trust, dated May 19, 1909, executed by the Manila Railroad Co. in favor of the government of the Philippine Islands, and subordinating agreements, and exempting said instruments from payment of stamp taxes.

To fix the annual tax on the assessed value of the real estate of the city of Manila for 1910 at $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

To amend the "provincial government act" by further extending the powers of provincial governments.

To create a commissioned and enlisted service within the bureau of navigation, the creation of a pension fund in connection therewith, and for the punishment of offenses against good order and discipline within such service.

To establish a sanitarium at Sibul, Province of Bulacan.

To provide for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Dr. José Rizal.

To authorize the appointment of high-school students as government pupils while pursuing a course of training for teaching.

To authorize the creation of special classes of superior instruction for municipal or insular teachers.

To amend the "postal savings bank" act by providing an additional class of securities for the investment of postal savings bank funds.

To confirm the action of the governor general in deporting from the islands certain persons of Chinese nationality.

To appropriate funds for sundry expenses of the University of the Philippines during the fiscal year 1911.

To make appropriations for public works and permanent improvements.

To make appropriations for sundry expenses of the insular government for the fiscal year 1911.

To amend the act providing for the widening of streets in the municipality of Cebu.

To appropriate ₱50,000 for the relief of suffering from public calamities.

Only 2 of the 22 measures proposed by the administration were rejected.

While there were differences in the views of the assembly and the governor upon important questions, they did not result in any political impasse, and the administration has proceeded without obstruction in any of its branches.

Nineteen bills were presented to the commission by the assembly. Sixteen were approved, one was postponed until the regular session, one (referring to non-Christian Provinces and therefore not coming within the jurisdiction of the assembly) was tabled at that session and is now up for passage by the commission, and one, providing for the remission of land and cedula taxes under certain conditions, was refused passage.

I found that while the leaders of the Nacionalistas are constant and insistent in their demands for immediate independence and are constantly stimulating the masses to make declarations which are intolerant of the American administration, yet at the same time they are

pursuing a broad and enlightened policy in respect of education, internal improvements, and general development.

EDUCATION.

The schools were visited by me wherever I went. At a number of places handsome, modern, well-equipped, well-lighted, and well-aired, substantial buildings of reinforced concrete have been erected, which would be a credit to communities of like number in America. A very deep and widespread interest is being manifested in education on the part of old and young. Children are taking a keen interest in their work. Those upon whom taxes for education are imposed cheerfully bear the burden, and so far from being in opposition to increasing the facilities for education, they heartily cooperate in the plans for extension. The children are making good progress in learning the English language.

In an audience at Capiz, where addresses were made in Spanish and English, it was manifest that English speakers were as well understood as were those who spoke in Spanish. I sought to impress upon the Philippine people that in no way could the American people take more effective steps for laying the foundations for independent government than by giving them a common language. They now have about 16 different Malay dialects, and, while Spanish is spoken among the educated, it is confined to approximately 10 per cent of the entire population and, notwithstanding its long use in the islands, has never become the medium of general communication. With the progress now being made, English will be understood by the next generation generally throughout the islands, and with this common means of speech will come a community of thought and action which could not be brought about in any other way.

The present law requires the use of English in the courts on and after January 1, 1913. I believe that it would be beneficial to the progress of the islands if speaking the English language should, on a date not long thereafter, be made a condition precedent to the right to hold any office filled by appointment by the Governor General.

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY.

This is a useful and effective body of men now consisting of 322 officers and 4,451 enlisted men operating from 138 stations. The commissioned officers are generally Americans, but a number of Filipinos are also officers, and the policy is to fill vacancies by their appointment as rapidly as they meet the requirements. They are maintained much more cheaply than our American soldiers or Philippine Scouts. Their pay is less, their outfit more economical, and they subsist upon the country, thus saving the enormous cost of transportation incident to supplying the army.

Besides serving as a military force to keep order and suppress insurrection, they are very efficient as auxiliaries in sanitary work, especially during epidemics. Although they do not receive the same amount of training and military discipline which the scouts do, yet they are, looking especially to their availability for sanitary work, of greater utility than the scouts. I am considering recommending the conversion of the scouts and constabulary into one body, the work to

be substantially that now done by the constabulary. My present opinion is that this will result in a saving to the United States Government of about a million dollars a year, and that the results achieved will, on the whole, be more valuable than will be brought about by maintaining separate organizations. The general idea is to muster out the scouts and turn over to the Philippine government enough money to maintain an equal number of men as constabulary, the whole constabulary force to be somewhat upon the footing of the national guards of the States. It has been roughly estimated that the amount which would be thus turned over to the Philippine government would be less by a million dollars than the amount now expended by the United States for the maintenance of the scouts.

In your report to the President you stated that when you were in the islands the native papers condemned the constabulary, but that during the two following years a change had taken place and that nothing was more popular in the islands than the constabulary. I am happy to say that this popularity is unabated, and that the constabulary and its administration are well intrenched in the respect and confidence of the people. The men and the native noncommissioned officers take great pride in their organization. They are well set up, efficient, keen in their work, and would be an effective force in case of foreign invasion. They conciliate constantly the people toward the administration, are learning the English language and habits, and thus are the medium of wholesome influences upon their people. I asked one of them in the Bontoc country whether or not he would stand by our flag in case of trouble with a foreign power. He answered:

Do you think I would hesitate to do that? Did I not recently in the discharge of my duty, when ordered, fire upon and kill one of my own townsmen who was defying the enforcement of the law?

FRIAR LANDS.

Much notoriety has been given in Congress and in the public press to recent sales of the friar lands. These lands amounted in all to 392,000 acres. Of these 260,000 are near Manila, 25,000 are in Cebu, and 107,000 are in the Provinces of Mindoro and Isabela. Six million nine hundred and thirty thousand four hundred and sixty-two dollars and seventy cents were paid for the lands, and the price was considered large. It was anticipated at the time that in disposing of them there would be loss to the Government. The purchase was made, not as a speculation nor for the purpose of distributing the lands, but as stated by you in your report, "on political grounds and for the purpose of bringing on tranquillity."

The question of distribution was only incidental to the sale and reimbursement. The main reason for the purchase was to eliminate the friars as landholders. Inasmuch as the Philippine government had burdened itself with a bonded debt drawing interest to get rid of these pernicious landholders, it seemed perfectly plain that it would be following the dictates of common sense to dispose of the unoccupied lands as soon as possible on the most advantageous terms. When the proposal was made to purchase the Mindoro estate at a figure fully reimbursing the government for the cost of the land, with interest and cost of survey and administration added, I could see no

good reason why the sale should not be made. I shall not go into the question of the legality of the sale. The opinion of the Attorney General certainly was sufficient to warrant the administration in making the sale. The island of Mindoro contains 3,851 square miles and 28,361 inhabitants, which is less than eight persons to the square mile. It is practically undeveloped. There was no demand by any inhabitants there for these lands. It is not probable that they would have been taken up by any inhabitants at any time in the near future. There are hundreds of thousands of other acres of wild lands in the island of Mindoro just as valuable and fully as capable of being used for the culture of cane as are these lands. Lands can be gotten there from the government for a price cheaper than that paid for the Mindoro estate. There are over 20,000,000 acres of public lands fit for agriculture in the islands and inducements upon the most favorable terms are offered to the inhabitants to take them up.

Unless the Mindoro estate had been sold as a whole to people capable of handling and developing it, it is not probable that the lands could have been disposed of at any time in the near future. At the rate of interest the bonds draw, the cost of the lands would in 30 years, when the bonds mature, have represented more than treble the original cost. The Philippine government needs its resources for internal improvements, and it would have been poor financiering to pay interest on the bonds and finally the principal and continue to hold these lands until they would be taken up by inhabitants of the islands, which would mean in the remote future.

The main opposition to the sale of these friar lands in large bodies in the Philippines is based upon opposition to the investment of any foreign capital, and especially American capital, in the islands. The opinion is held by those who mainly voice this opposition that the investing of foreign capital, and especially American capital, in the Philippines will in time develop such a demand for the continuance of American control as will tend to postpone, if not effectually destroy, the realization of Philippine independence.

The thought is that the power so exerted would be sufficient to dominate Congress and make the American people change the policy hitherto declared "to govern the Philippine Islands for the benefit and welfare and uplifting of the people of the islands and gradually to extend to them, as they shall show themselves fit to exercise it, a greater and greater measure of popular self-government," * * * and "that when the Filipino people as a whole show themselves reasonably fit to conduct a popular self-government, maintaining law and order and offering equal protection of the laws and civil rights to rich and poor, and desire complete independence of the United States, they shall be given it."

Inasmuch as the charges publicly made in Congress and in the public prints involved, besides the general question of sale, the conduct of certain officers in the Philippines, I made an investigation in respect to these, feeling that I had a duty to perform independent of any action of Congress, and that if these officers had been guilty of any misconduct it was not only the right but the duty of the administration to deal with them without waiting for congressional action. These charges involved F. W. Carpenter, executive secretary, and Dean C. Worcester, one of the commissioners. I called upon Governor General Forbes, Mr. Carpenter, and Mr. Worcester for a state-

ment of the facts, and sought in other ways, and especially by calling on Filipinos who were opposed to the sale of the Mindoro and Isabela estates, for information as to any official misconduct on the part of either Mr. Worcester or Mr. Carpenter.

I learned nothing whatever detrimental to the character of either of these men. I found that there was considerable opposition to Mr. Worcester, growing mainly out of an abruptness of manner in official relations. In this way he had offended some people and aroused their opposition. Several of such people spoke to me of this, but upon being asked the direct question they said that they knew of nothing affecting the integrity of his action.

Ordinarily it is invidious to single out some officials for commendation, but in view of the attack which has been made upon these men, I feel that it is right to give the result of my inquiry.

I refrained from any close association with, and reserved judgment as to them until I had exhausted all sources of information. Based on all that I could learn, my judgment is that they are honest, faithful, capable men, devoted to their work, and that it would be a loss to the Government if anything should withdraw them from the public service. Mr. Worcester has a more general and more exact knowledge of the Philippine Islands, their fauna, flora, resources, and inhabitants than any other man, without exception. He is a mine of useful and practical information, which he is constantly turning to account for the benefit of the islands. Having a liberal education and a technical education, he has applied himself with great industry and devotion to a study of the Philippine Islands. He has seriously impaired his health in this work. While he has cultivated the fortiter in re, rather than the suaviter in modo, and thus has made for himself opposition, the real good accomplished by him so far outweighs any objections that might be raised to his somewhat aggressive ways, that the latter are far outweighed in the general account. Though not directly stated, the inference was drawn from the charges made that he as secretary of the interior had approved an unlawful sale of some of the friar lands to his nephew, E. L. Worcester. Mr. E. L. Worcester never purchased an acre of the friar lands. He did lease some public lands, but in the amount authorized by law and at the prices paid for such lands by other people. He had a right to lease these lands and his uncle had no right as secretary of the interior to deprive him of the right to lease them. I found no evidence that Secretary Worcester is interested directly or indirectly in these lands. He stated positively that he was not. I did not hear anyone in the Philippines say that he was. When the application to lease these lands was made, the fact was brought to the attention of Gov. Smith. There was no secrecy whatever about it. I found no complaint among Filipinos as to the lease of these lands. Their complaints applied to the sale of the friar lands, and especially the Isabela and Mindoro estates, but not to that part of the friar lands purchased by Mr. Carpenter. The purchase was made by Mr. Carpenter not only with the knowledge but at the instance of the Governor General. He paid the full price provided for under the law. He has not dispossessed any Filipino. On the contrary, after his contract was made, he permitted Filipinos to come in and participate in his purchase. None of his official duties were in any way connected with the administration or sale of these lands. I do not favor

public officials from America in the Philippines purchasing public lands, but I find that it has hitherto been the policy of the administration to encourage investments by employees in the islands. So far from finding any objections on the part of Filipinos to the purchase by Mr. Carpenter, everyone with whom I spoke in regard to it, and I spoke with many of the leading men, entirely approved of it. In such conversations they took occasion to voluntarily bear testimony to the high character and standing of Mr. Carpenter, their confidence in his integrity, his usefulness in the public service, and to the valuable offices which he had performed in maintaining good relations between Filipinos and Americans. Upon the question of his purchase, I received a letter from Hon. Manuel Quezon, Resident Commissioner, as follows:

MANILA, August 12, 1910.

MR. SECRETARY:

I have read carefully Mr. Frank W. Carpenter's reply to the allegations made against him in Congress recently in regard to the lease and purchase by him of friar lands, and, complying with your request for an expression of opinion as to the truth of Mr. Carpenter's statements, I beg to say that I am convinced that they are true.

Furthermore, I beg to confirm all I have stated orally to you regarding the confidence and respect in which the Filipino people hold Mr. Carpenter, officially and personally.

Respectfully, yours,

MANUEL L. QUEZON,

Resident Commissioner to the United States for the Philippines.

To the honorable the SECRETARY OF WAR,
Manila, P. I.

The following letter from Mr. Osmeña, the speaker of the assembly, indicates Mr. Carpenter's standing with the Filipinos:

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS,
OFFICE OF THE SPEAKER, PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY.

Manila, August 30, 1910.

SIR: I have the honor of confirming, by the present, the information that, replying to your inquiries, I have personally given you with reference to the conduct, character, and reputation of Mr. Frank W. Carpenter, executive secretary.

Mr. Carpenter enjoys the highest esteem and confidence among the Filipinos. As an official and as a gentleman he has responded at all times to the best hopes, and while he has sustained, and does sustain now, close relations with the Filipinos, his conduct as an official may be presented as a model of intelligence, integrity, and zeal. It is known of all that Mr. Carpenter devotes to public affairs time and attention much greater than are customarily given to such matters, not failing to work for a number of hours on legal holidays. His official bearing with all those who in whatever way have had any connection with his office has heightened the regard for him as a man of rare penetration and activity and have gained for him, and with reason, those active sympathies which beyond respect are given to persons who, on compliance with a duty, do it with the generous interest which can only be felt by those who, entirely devoted to their public offices, find a satisfaction in remembering that they are servants of the public and that they must conduct themselves as such.

With respect to the public and private morality of Mr. Carpenter, I do not believe there is anyone, among Filipinos at least, that has not the highest concept of him. Filipinos have complete confidence in Mr. Carpenter and his fruitful labor of the present, which can only be compared with his distinguished past service, constitutes a legitimate and elevated record of honesty, efficiency, and patriotism.

Permit me, Mr. Secretary, to be,

Very respectfully, yours,

SERGIO OSMEÑA,

Speaker, Philippine Assembly.

HON. JACOB MCG. DICKINSON,
Secretary of War.

On January 1, 1910, Commissioner Worcester, secretary of the interior, approved the lease of approximately 47,000 acres of the Isabela estate, with option to purchase this estate, to Edward B. Bruce, of Manila. This estate consisted of approximately 49,500 acres. The sale price fixed was ₱422,500, Philippine currency, together with interest thereon at the rate of 4 per cent per annum from and including the 1st day of January, 1910, the payment of the purchase price or installments thereof, together with all interests accruing thereon, to be made in accordance with the provisions of the friar-land act as amended. This sale price included the cost to the Government, together with all charges for interest and administration.

This Isabela estate is one of the practically unoccupied estates purchased from the friars and is situated in a sparsely settled part of the center of the island of Luzon.

At the time the contracts were made for sales in large amounts of these friar lands it was not supposed that objection would be raised thereto. The idea was to handle this, in so far as these vacant lands were concerned, as a business proposition.

In so much, however, as opposition has been declared and Congress has provided for an investigation of this matter, no more sales of these lands in large quantities will be authorized until the situation is cleared up.

Reports covering this matter in full by Governor General Forbes, Secretary of the Interior Worcester, and Executive Secretary Carpenter have been prepared and submitted to me. These reports were printed in Manila.

I also attach a letter (marked "Appendix F") from Resident Commissioner Quezon, which gives concisely the prevailing Filipino view of the land question.

FILIPINIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

In your special report of 1908, under the heading "Civil service," you say:

Still in many of the bureaus the progress of Filipinos to the most responsible places is necessarily slow, and the proportion of them to be found in positions of high salaries is not as large as it ought to be in the near future. The winnowing-out process, however, is steadily reducing the American employees in the civil service.

One of the demands most urgently brought to my attention was that the work of increasing the proportion of the Filipino employees is not being pressed, and that, especially in the higher salaries, there is discrimination against Filipino employees. The Filipinos bear the burden of government and should, so far as is consistent with proper administration and the maintenance of the present attitude of the United States in the government of the islands, be given a preference in employment. While in the beginning and for a long while thereafter it was necessary to pay American employees such salaries as would induce them to leave their homes, go to a distant country and incur the inconvenience incident to life there, and while it was sound policy to pay higher salaries to American employees, I see no reason why such course should be indefinitely continued. In my judgment, the time has come when for the same efficiency and for the same class of work done by new employees

salaries should be fixed for the places, and they should be filled by competent persons without discrimination as between Filipinos and Americans.

In your special report in 1907 you showed that there were 2,616 Americans and 3,902 Filipinos employed. On January 1, 1910, there were employed 2,633 Americans and 4,639 Filipinos.

Below is a table showing a comparison of the number of American and Filipino officers and employees having a permanent status in the service and the salaries paid on January 1 of the years given:

Year.	Officers and employees.		Salaries paid.		Average salaries.	
	Americans.	Filipinos.	Americans.	Filipinos.	Americans.	Filipinos.
1907.....	2,616	3,902	P7,869,242	P3,234,494	P3,008.12	P828.93
1908.....	2,479	4,080	7,749,236	3,686,855	3,125.95	903.64
1909.....	2,659	4,397	8,576,962	4,018,988	3,225.63	914.03
1910.....	2,633	4,639	8,755,486	4,296,896	3,325.29	926.25

It will be seen that since 1907, when you made your special report, there has been, up to January 1, 1910, an increase of 17 in the number of American and of 737 in that of Filipino employees, and that there has been an increase of \$443,122 in the amount paid American and of \$531,201 in that paid to Filipino employees, an increase in the average salaries paid to Americans of \$158.59 and in those to Filipinos of \$48.66.

The following table shows the percentage of American and Filipino employees and the percentage of salaries paid to them for the years mentioned, and the increase and decrease in the number of Americans and Filipinos employed between the years 1903 and 1910, also the increase and decrease in the number of Americans and Filipinos employed in the years 1909 and 1910:

Year.	Employees.		Salaries.	
	Americans.	Filipinos.	Americans.	Filipinos.
	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
1907.....	40	60	71	29
1908.....	38	62	68	32
1909.....	38	62	68	32
1910.....	36	64	67	33

	<i>Per cent.</i>
1903-1910:	
Decrease in number of Americans.....	5.2
Increase in number of Filipinos.....	72.0
Increase in salaries of Americans.....	21.0
Increase in salaries of Filipinos.....	96.3
Increase in average salaries of Americans.....	27.6
Increase in average salaries of Filipinos.....	14.1
1909-1910:	
Decrease in number of Americans.....	1.0
Increase in number of Filipinos.....	5.5
Increase in salaries of Americans.....	2.1
Increase in salaries of Filipinos.....	6.9
Increase in average salaries of Americans.....	3.1
Increase in average salaries of Filipinos.....	1.3

During the past year the Philippine government has called on the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs to send out American stenographers and deck officers. This demand might have been anticipated and Filipinos educated for both of these purposes, as they are exceedingly apt for both classes of service. The general question was taken up with the Governor General and the heads of departments and bureaus. It is the fixed policy of the administration to proceed as rapidly as the good of the service will permit in increasing the Filipino employees, and I am satisfied that there will be a hearty cooperation upon the part of all. The Governor General has always favored this course.

I call special attention to the bureau of printing, which is operating all kinds of modern machines and is doing the highest class of work in printing and binding. In this department there are 348 employees, of whom 318 are Filipinos. It is true that this, on account of the nature of the work, can not be taken as a standard for other departments and bureaus.

Within the last year it has been necessary to employ Americans on account of the requirement for experts to contend with the rinderpest and expert surveyors and engineers for public works.

In the municipal service in the year 1910 there are 102 Americans and 12,417 Filipinos employed.

I append as a part of my report a table, marked "Appendix G," showing, for the several years set out, the number of Americans and Filipinos employed in the various services therein mentioned.

Without a careful analysis of these tables one might get a false impression of the extent to which the government of the islands has been Filipinized during the period covered by them. They show the increase of Filipinos in the civil service of the islands, but it should be observed that in the period covered by these tables the number of Filipino members of the commission has been increased $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, the number of judges of first instance by 100 per cent, and there has been created the Philippine Assembly, an elective body composed exclusively of Filipinos.

To-day four of the nine members of the Philippine Commission, which constitutes the upper house of the legislature, are Filipinos. The entire lower house is composed of Filipinos. In the executive departments the important portfolio of finance and justice is held by a Filipino. Three of the 7 justices of the supreme court, including the chief justice thereof, are Filipinos, and 10 of the 20 judges of first instance are Filipinos, while practically all the lower judicial officers are Filipinos.

ARTESIAN WELLS.

A wonderful change in health conditions has been brought about by the procurement of wholesome water through artesian wells. This work was in its inception when you were in the islands in 1907, and has steadily progressed, until now there are in operation 429 wells. A marked improvement has been shown in the health conditions where these waters have been used. The people everywhere appreciate them and are anxious for them. It seems that no water can be found at Iloilo. A number of experiments there have failed.

ANIMAL DISEASES.

RINDERPEST.

In many portions of the islands, especially in Batangas, Pangasinan, Cebu, and Occidental Negros, the industry of agriculture was almost prostrated through the loss of work animals by rinderpest. A specific preventive by inoculation has been found effectual, and the disease is well under control.

At the stock farm at Alabang a herd of about 900 cattle is maintained under the care of experts. All have been inoculated and are immune against rinderpest, and sufficient serum is now constantly obtained for shipment wherever demanded throughout the islands. In addition to the annual appropriation, there was made in November, 1909, a special appropriation of 210,000 pesos for this work. Too much can not be said in praise of the thoroughly scientific manner in which it is carried on. The results have been most gratifying; and by the arrestation of the disease, the natural increase of draft animals, and the importation from other countries which is being carried on under strict quarantine regulations, we can expect that within a year or two the supply of work animals will be adequate. Much more vigorous quarantine regulations obtain than formerly. It is now evident that the disease will be stamped out.

SURRA.

This disease is fatal to horses. It attacks but does not kill carabao and Indian bulls. So far no cure for it except in rare cases has been discovered. Experiments are being made for the purpose of finding a remedy, and our experts are hopeful of ultimate success.

ROADS.

There has been a marked development in the disposition of the people throughout the islands to exert themselves and to assume tax burdens for the purpose of securing good roads. The provincial board of each Province has decided to levy the cedula tax and to apply the proceeds to the construction and maintenance of roads. While there is a great contrast between the roads maintained by the municipalities and those maintained by the insular government, yet there has been in recent years an increase in the care bestowed by the municipal governments upon their roads. The caminero system has been established with good results.

There are now in the islands 3,100 miles of roads under the administration of municipalities, 862 miles of first class under control of the Provinces, and 46 miles under that of the insular government. The roads maintained by the Provinces and insular government can generally be compared favorably with the good roads of any country, and some of them are as good as could be desired anywhere. This is especially true of the Provinces and Pangasinan and Albay, the former having recently taken the prize of ₱10,000 offered for the best constructed and maintained roads.

Many miles of mountain trails of easy grade have been constructed. I passed over the one from a point 5 miles from Tagudin to Bontoc,

that portion from Cervantes to Bontoc being entirely new and just opened. While there is not much commerce to pass over these trails, as the people in those sections consume almost all that they produce, yet it may be expected that with the continuance of peace and the further development of agriculture there will be an increasing surplus put upon the market.

These trails promote intercourse between people of the various sections and in that way have a civilizing influence. They afford a ready way for the movement of troops to sections hitherto almost inaccessible. The wild people have great respect for and attach a sort of sanctity to them, which is manifested by the fact that people passing over them are, I am told, never molested. The initial cost was comparatively small, owing to the cheapness of the labor, all of which was performed by the wild men of the Mountain Province, many of whom gave 10 days of free labor, and to the skill developed by those directing the work, but the maintenance on account of the torrential rains will probably be a constant and expensive burden.

LEPERS.

The work of segregating the lepers has proceeded to the point that now there are but few who have not been transported to the island of Culion. It is the opinion of Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who has this work in charge, that within a generation or two the disease will have practically disappeared from the islands. There are at present about 3,000 in the colony. But little opposition is now made to the removal of those who are affected with the disease. While this brings distress, it is nevertheless generally recognized that it is for the common good and that those who have the misfortune to be afflicted must bear the sacrifice which fate has forced upon them.

A large up-to-date hospital of reenforced concrete has just been completed. Six Sisters of Charity have devoted themselves to the work of nursing. Apparent cures have been effected by the use of chaulmoogra oil, and it is hoped that it will be demonstrated to be a specific.

LANDS IN MANILA OCCUPIED FOR ARMY PURPOSES.

There is a controversy of long standing between military and civil authorities in regard to the use of certain property for army purposes in Manila. It appears that a basis of settlement was reached some years ago that was then regarded as mutually acceptable, but it was not put in such form as to be binding and has never been consummated.

There should be an early and final adjustment of this matter, for it seriously affects the development of the city of Manila and involves the determination of a policy in regard to the army establishment at Manila. As some of the proposed changes will require the surrender by the army of buildings which it now uses, these can not be effected until provision has been made for other accommodations, and this will require the construction of buildings at large cost, and therefore congressional action. The Governor General representing the civil government, and Gen. Duvall representing the army, presented

their respective views. As to some important points there is agreement, providing Congress shall provide the necessary buildings. As to other points there are differences which must be settled by higher authority. The papers are too voluminous to incorporate in this report. After going over the questions with the Chief of Staff, who is familiar with the conditions there, I will present a plan of settlement embodying such provisions as may require congressional action.

I carefully examined the various properties in person—first in company with the Governor General and afterwards in company with Gen. Duvall—and am therefore in position to form my own judgment in regard to them.

PENAL INSTITUTIONS.

PENAL COLONY.

A visit was made by me to the penal colony at Iwahig, on the island of Palawan. Though an audacious experiment, it has in the results attained fully justified the expectations of the wise forecast that inaugurated it. It is one of the most interesting and attractive places in the islands. The spectacle of some thousand criminals living together on a penal reservation of 270 square miles in peace and carrying on industrial and agricultural pursuits under an administration largely controlled by themselves is wonderful. The convicts there are those who have earned the privilege of going there by good behavior at Bilibid during a certain period.

The administration is under Gov. John H. Evans and the immediate superintendency of Carroll H. Lamb. Discipline is administered by the convicts themselves, who elect their own judges and make their own laws. In their jury trials a majority convict. The superintendent has a right to veto any measure. Lawbreakers are flogged or locked up, or, in extreme cases, sent back to Bilibid, this latter being regarded as the most severe punishment.

The grounds are beautifully laid out and are adorned with ornamental flowers and plants, all of the work being done by the colonists. The sanitary conditions are excellent.

Many of the colonists who have passed certain grades of probation have taken up land, upon which they reside and which they cultivate; and these men, if they wish, may bring their wives and families to live with them. Marriage also is permitted among the colonists. Six marriages had occurred during the preceding year, the women coming to the colony to live with their husbands. At the time of my visit there were about 42 women in the colony.

Farming is done on shares. The superintendent receives half for the general funds and the other half belongs to the convict. The farming is done under the direction and control of the superintendent. Those living on farms report periodically at headquarters for inspection, and their farms also are regularly inspected. There are now about 149 separate holdings.

There was a display of the products of the colony, showing a great variety of fruits, vegetables, and staples. It is the purpose so to develop the production as to make the colony the source of supply of food products for Bilibid Prison in Manila. Already it is sending some products there.

The colonists raise their own meat and substantially everything that they consume, and it is hoped that in time there will be a sufficient surplus to furnish the meat supply for Bilibid and also to contribute to the meat supply of the army. Now the main supply of meat to the Philippines comes from Australia.

The success at Iwahig in raising beef cattle will tend to stimulate like efforts in other parts of the islands. There is no reason why, with the native grasses which grow in great abundance in some of the islands and are well adapted for beef cattle, that the islands should not in time be able to dispense with all importation of meat. The cattle at Iwahig are raised from native cows and Indian bulls.

The colonists also maintain a fishery, which abundantly supplies all the inhabitants.

As an illustration of the confidence reposed in them, the engineer of the boat upon which we went from Puerto Princesa to Iwahig was under condemnation, and three of the four house servants of Superintendent Lamb, one of them having charge of his children, were convicted murderers. He told me that he traveled constantly day and night, discharging the duties of his office, inspecting the most remote farms, and that he had never borne an arm since he had been on the island.

The convicts may remain in the colony after they have been pardoned or have completed their sentence. Those remaining are subject to its laws.

PRISONS.

I carefully inspected the prisons, examining all parts of them, at Manila and wherever I went, except at Zamboanga, and as to the one there I had a report that it was of an exceptionally high order in respect to cleanliness and sanitation.

It gives me great pleasure to report that the cleanliness, sanitary provisions, ventilation, and food and its preparation are beyond criticism. The contrast between the prisons as conducted under Spanish and American administration presents one of the most striking changes in the islands.

In only one place did I see an objectionable condition, and that was in an addition that had been recently made without proper ventilation. Governor General Forbes has already taken the matter in hand and it will be rectified. This was at Iloilo.

The prisons in the Philippines might well be taken as models of cleanliness by many of our cities and States.

FINANCIAL CONDITION.

The following table shows the condition of finances of the Philippine government and that they are satisfactory.

On May 31, 1910, the surplus to the credit of the insular government comprised the following items:

Friar lands bond sinking fund.....	\$795, 271. 36
Public works and permanent improvements bonds sinking fund.....	441, 460. 47
Unexpended premium, public works and permanent improvements bonds.....	4, 537. 60
Due from Philippine Railway Co., account interest advanced....	372, 466. 64
Investments from appropriated surplus.....	283, 342. 24
Assurance fund, act No. 496.....	24, 011. 74
Loan to city of Manila, account Luneta extension.....	25, 000. 00
Moro Province account current.....	20, 081. 99

Working surplus:

Cash.....	\$4, 733, 633. 95
Accounts receivable.....	781, 240. 81
Total.....	7, 481, 046. 80

The gold standard fund on that date had a balance to its credit of \$9,491,344.99.

The total bonded indebtedness on May 31, 1910, was—

Insular:

Friar lands bonds.....	\$7, 000, 000. 00
Public works bonds.....	5, 000, 000. 00

City of Manila:

Sewer and waterworks bonds.....	4, 000, 000. 00
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Total.....	16, 000, 000. 00
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On July 31, 1910, of the 397,000 acres purchased with the proceeds of the friar lands bonds, 123,680 acres have been sold, but with deferred payments, so that the government had as yet received but a small part of the purchase price. The remainder, including much of the most valuable land, is still to be sold.

AGRICULTURAL BANK.

The good anticipated from the creation of the agricultural bank has not been realized. Owing to the delay in establishing title under the Torrens system, which is the basis of the credit to be extended by the bank, but few loans have been made. The capital is too small to bring about any substantial result. The fixed charges for administering a bank with a capital of \$500,000 are as great as they would be for one much larger. Unless the bank shall establish more agencies at central points where loans can be negotiated with the minimum of expense to borrowers, the utility of the bank will fail or will be confined to a comparatively small area.

At a public hearing in Manila on September 1, 1910, Mr. Leocadio Joaquin thus presented the difficulties, some of which are, however, erroneous:

We all know that the basis of every government is founded on a good condition of agriculture and that the basis of every country or people also rests on agriculture. Unfortunately, Mr. Secretary, for more than 10 years past the Philippines have been sighing and groaning under a frightful burden due to the deplorable condition of our agriculture. The representatives of the United States have sought the most practical means to find a cure for this condition of affairs, and as a remedy they have found the establishment of an agricultural bank. In theory the bank has had apparently a brilliant success, but in practice it is really a dead letter. The agricultural bank has no branches in the provinces or municipalities. It makes its loans from the Manila headquarters. It has encountered many obstacles in reaching the agriculturist, so that it is impossible for him to secure any money from said bank, as an essential requisite, as an indispensable one, is the furnishing of a Torrens title to land, a title which has been made legal by the enactment of the land registration act. As this law was but recently enacted, most of our lands have not Torrens titles, but have titles that were derived from the Spanish Government or under Spanish law. At the present time there are many difficulties in the way of obtaining a Torrens title. There are many minute requirements on the part of the bureau of lands relating to the making of plans. This is a requirement which paralyzes the work, as there are very few agriculturists who can get these plans. Before the enactment of a recent law, which regulates the practice of surveying in the islands, there were over a thousand surveyors who were duly qualified by colleges and institutions of learning as such. This law, which was enacted about two years ago, has disqualified all of these qualified surveyors who, as

I have already said, numbered over a thousand, and I can now assure your honor that there are probably not more than 100 qualified-by-the-government surveyors at the present time in the islands. They are the only persons who are competent to survey land, whose plans will be admitted by the court of land registration in the acquisition of Torrens titles. This, then, is the first obstacle that a man finds who is not in possession of a Torrens title, in the making of the plans, survey of the land, etc.

In addition to the other obstacles that are put in the way of the survey of the land by the bureau of lands, this fact alone, this lack of surveyors, is of itself sufficient to make it impossible, or at least very difficult, for the agriculturist to acquire a Torrens title.

If all of these obstacles are obviated and a Torrens title is acquired, a landowner in Surigao, for example, after making a trip of from 8 to 16 days in order to secure a loan from the agricultural bank in Manila, and after negotiating with the bank will be able to secure only one-tenth of the value of the property as a loan. That is to say, if the property is worth ₱10,000,¹ he may secure a loan for ₱1,000. As you can understand, a property owner who has property worth ₱10,000 can scarcely hope to find a remedy for his present condition by the loan of ₱1,000. Really, we do not understand why, the restriction being so great as regards the amount of the loan that will be given with relation to the value of the property, there are so many other restrictions, if it is the purpose of the bank to find a cure for the present conditions of affairs as regards agriculture.

It is for this reason that scarcely one-tenth of the arable lands of the Philippines are under cultivation.

Delay has been occasioned by the inadequacy of skilled surveyors to survey lands for establishing titles. For this reason the work of making loans has proceeded slowly.

The bank was opened for business on October 1, 1908. Up to the 30th day of June, 1910, the number of applications received from each Province was as follows:

Ambos Camarines	25	Misamis	22
Albay	49	Mindoro	3
Antique	2	Moro	4
Bataan	13	Nueva Ecija	34
Batangas	3	Nueva Vizcaya	2
Benguet	1	Negros Occidental	54
Bohol	2	Negros Oriental	4
Bulacan	30	Palawan	1
Capiz	6	Pampanga	21
Cagayan	3	Pangasinan	71
Cavite	5	Rizal	11
Cebu	2	Samar	5
Ilocos Norte	5	Sorsogon	7
Ilocos Sur	10	Tarlac	88
Iloilo	8	Tayabas	4
Isabela	30	Union	8
Laguna	11	Zambales	2
Leyte	15		
Manila city	4	Total	565

Of the 565 applications, 453 were refused, principally on account of defective titles.

The total amount loaned up to June 30, 1910, aggregated ₱284,450 (\$142,225). The law limits the amount which can be loaned on property to 40 per cent of its value.

An agency of the bank has been established at Zamboanga.

RAILROADS.

I personally inspected the following lines: Those of the Manila Railroad Co. from San Fabian to Camp 1, 12.23 miles; from Dagupan to Manila, 122.15 miles; and from Manila to Los Banos, 40 miles;

¹ One peso, Philippine currency, is equivalent to 50 cents United States currency.

of the Philippine Railway Co. from Cebu to Danao, and from Cebu to Carcar, a total of 60 miles, and from Iloilo to Capiz, 71 miles.

All of them were well constructed and well maintained. The road-bed, ties, and bridges were in first-rate condition. I was particularly impressed by the effort being made by the management of the Philippine Railway Co. in Cebu and Panay to promote agricultural progress along its lines. At every station there is an exhibit of the products, and instructions are published for the best methods of agriculture. They have induced large planting of maguey upon lands not well adapted for other crops. A strong effort is being made to build up the agricultural industry in sections tributary to its lines, thus laying the foundation not only for its own prosperity but for that of the people.

I was particularly impressed with the shops of the company at Iloilo, which are extensive and of a high order. The machinery is all modern. Except the foremen, the operatives are Filipinos. They show a high degree of industry and capacity for mechanical work. These shops represent a large part of the cost of the road and their construction account should be distributed over the road in estimating its cost per mile.

The number of miles of road now in operation by the Philippine Railway Co. is 131 and that by the Manila Railroad Co. 362.

The Philippine people take deep interest in railroad construction, appreciate the benefits therefrom, and are eager for extensions. At public meetings at Albay and Legaspi I was urged to bring about the speedy building of the road from Batangas through Lucena to Albay.

The original contract with the Manila Railroad Co. did not call for any guaranty, but by a subsequent agreement the company is to construct some 150 miles of additional track and the Philippine government is to guarantee interest on first-lien bonds of the lines south of Manila and also on the extension to Baguio, subject to the annual contingent liability fixed by Congress.

The guaranteed system is to consist of the following lines, viz:

<i>Southern or guaranteed system.</i>		Miles.
Belt Line.....	-----	6.0
Manila-Batangas-Bauan.....	-----	67.8
Port Line Batangas.....	-----	.9
Spur Camp McGrath.....	-----	1.1
Cavite Short Line and Naic extension.....	-----	32.7
Calamba-Magdalena-Santa Cruz.....	-----	30.0
Tanto Tomas-Lucena.....	-----	39.3
East coast extension and connection between the line now under construction in Tayabas Province and that in Ambos Camarines (estimated).....	-----	135.0
Legaspi-Neuva Caceres.....	-----	60.7
Nueva Caceres north.....	-----	7.0
Pili-Lagonoy.....	-----	31.0
Legaspi-Tabaco extension.....	-----	19.3
Port Line Legaspi.....	-----	.7
Port Line Tabaco.....	-----	.8
Ligao east.....	-----	4.0
Tabaco west.....	-----	4.0
Camp No. 1-Baguio.....	-----	22.0
New port connection, Manila.....	-----	2.0
Total length of guaranteed system in Luzon.....		464.3

Construction is proceeding as rapidly as practicable. The survey is now in progress on the Benguet road. From such investigation as I was able to make, I am of the opinion that the road from Camp No. 1 to Baguio can be constructed on a route which will involve less expense than hitherto was contemplated.

Bonds on which interest is guaranteed by the Philippine government have been issued as follows:

By the Philippine Railway Co.....	\$7,835,000
By the Manila Railroad Co.....	2,108,000

All of the lines will probably in time become paying properties, but some of them must await very extensive development and increase of commerce, which they will promote.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS.

The foreign business of the islands has greatly increased since 1907, notwithstanding the prostration suffered by the main industry, agriculture, on account of the loss of work animals by rinderpest. By far the greatest increment has been during the last year, and this is directly due to the operation of the Payne bill. The prices for sugar and tobacco products have largely increased, and these industries are in a flourishing condition. The price of labor has also increased.

If modern culture and machinery shall be introduced, thus insuring the maximum of crops and their yield of marketable products, the sugar industry will be yet more profitable and largely increased, and that without an increase of sugar acreage. A first-class plant of the most modern type is being erected upon the Mindoro estate. This will prove an object lesson and will lead to the abandonment of old methods and the waste incident to them.

The following table shows the value of exports and imports for the years set out:

Fiscal year.	Imports.	Exports.
1906.....	\$25,799,290	\$31,918,542
1907.....	28,786,063	33,721,767
1908.....	30,918,745	32,829,816
1909.....	27,794,482	31,044,458
1910.....	37,061,925	39,886,852

Since 1904 the balance of trade has been in favor of the Philippines.

Value of imported commodities with proportion from the United States shown separately, fiscal years 1909 and 1910.

Commodities.	1909		1910	
	Total.	United States.	Total.	United States.
Wheat flour.....	\$1,172,322	\$601,947	\$1,534,442	\$1,098,823
Cars, carriages, and other vehicles.....	168,520	45,652	331,637	197,004
Cement.....	247,425	276	416,815	103,078
Chemicals, drugs, and dyes.....	440,207	106,666	539,743	193,713
Cotton, and manufactures of.....	6,944,978	590,635	8,522,307	2,120,587
Fish and fish products, including shellfish.....	332,710	86,987	612,765	338,631
Iron and steel, and manufactures of.....	1,933,032	818,548	3,305,695	1,970,490
Leather, and manufactures of.....	494,138	354,185	760,463	575,730
Meat and dairy products.....	2,176,943	221,266	2,377,466	333,298
Oil, illuminating.....	614,334	386,692	1,142,250	942,734
Paints, pigments, and colors.....	130,941	18,300	217,039	91,823
Paper, and manufactures of.....	457,543	120,339	638,833	227,951
Tobacco, and manufactures of.....	38,294	2,211	208,475	177,627
Miscellaneous.....	12,643,095	1,340,127	16,453,995	2,404,639
Total.....	27,794,482	4,693,831	37,061,925	10,776,128

HEALTH AND SANITATION.

Progress in promoting better health conditions has gone steadily on. Except for care in the use of water and uncooked vegetables and during the hot hours, life is pursued in Manila just as in the United States.

The official census of 1903 showed the population of the city of Manila as 219,941. The health department census of 1910 gives the following population of the city of Manila:

Americans	4,174
Filipinos	211,859
Spaniards	2,364
Other Europeans	644
Chinese	14,093
All others	1,275
Total	234,409

For the quarter ended June 30, 1910, the death rate among people thus classified was as follows (annual average per 1,000):

Americans	13.38
Filipinos	33.24
Spaniards	18.54
Other Europeans	11.91
Chinese	16.22
All others	15.46
Average	31.57

It is thus seen that the death rate of Americans and Europeans living in Manila compares favorably with the rate among such people in any of our American and European cities of equal size. The death rate among the Filipinos and oriental people living in Manila compares in a like favorable manner with the death rate among oriental people in any of the Asiatic cities.

The large death rate among the Filipinos in Manila is still largely due to the great death rate among children under 3 years of age. Though much progress has been made in improving this condition, there yet remains a great deal to be done. While I was there an association was formed to begin an active campaign against tuberculosis.

During the period of my stay in the islands the general health conditions were good. In Pangasinan and other places cholera had prevailed, but it had been almost entirely stamped out when I went through that province. Wherever artesian water is used this and other diseases of the stomach and bowels no longer prevail.

The department of health is excellently administered. Some complaints were made to me, but on investigation I was satisfied that they were not well founded and that some of them arose from opposition of medical men who had not adjusted themselves to the new order of things.

The condition of our soldiers in the Philippines is good. The men appear healthy and vigorous.

The following table shows a comparison between localities:

Numerical view of the effect of disease and injury on United States troops serving at home and abroad in the year 1909, compared with corresponding data for the year 1908, by countries—Proportionate numbers per thousand.

American troops (enlisted).	Mean strength.	Admitted.			Discharged on surgeon's certificate of disability.		
		Total.	Disease.	Injury.	Total.	Dis-ease.	Injury.
United States.....	(1909.. 57,124 1908.. 46,316)	1,024.37 1,148.59	821.77 921.91	202.59 226.68	18.87 21.35	17.01 19.15	1.87 2.21
Alaska.....	(1909.. 1,064 1908.. 1,015)	390.04 419.70	281.95 270.94	108.08 148.77	4.36 3.67	.87 2.75	3.49 .92
Cuba.....	(1909.. 604 1908.. 4,694)	798.01 1,201.75	672.19 949.30	125.83 252.45	3.31 21.46	3.31 20.83	......63
Philippine Islands.....	(1909.. 12,844 1908.. 11,971)	1,348.02 1,439.65	1,156.49 1,207.84	191.53 231.81	11.43 8.65	10.52 6.84	.91 1.81
Hawaii.....	(1909.. 1,014 1908.. 255)	1,180.47 1,282.35	839.25 1,027.45	341.22 254.90	13.80 39.15	12.88 35.59	.92 3.56
Army transports.....	(1909.. 1,669 1908.. 1,155)	644.70 760.17	599.16 716.02	45.54 44.16	..........	..........	..........
Total.....	(1909.. 74,319 1908.. 65,406)	1,062.99 1,188.03	865.92 962.88	197.07 225.15	16.84 18.48	15.20 16.51	1.64 1.97
Regular Army, American troops, 1899 to 1908.....	65,500	1,596.65	1,379.25	217.39	23.30	20.44	2.86

American troops (en-listed).	Died.			Total losses.			Constantly noneffective.	Days treated.	
	Total.	Dis-ease.	Injury.	Total.	Dis-ease.	Injury.		Each soldier.	Each case.
United States.....	(1909.. 4.84 1908.. 5.35)	2.97 3.10	1.87 2.25	23.71 26.70	19.98 22.24	3.74 4.46	39.70 41.19	14.49 15.08	14.15 13.13
Alaska.....	(1909.. 1.75 1908.. 9.17)	..... 2.75	1.75 6.42	6.11 12.84	.87 5.50	5.24 7.84	16.22 12.99	5.92 4.75	15.18 11.33
Cuba.....	(1909.. 1.66 1908.. 4.63)	1.66 2.53	..... 2.10	4.97 26.09	4.97 23.36	..... 2.73	29.59 38.53	10.80 14.10	13.54 11.74
Philippine Islands.....	(1909.. 6.43 1908.. 9.31)	4.09 5.03	2.35 4.28	17.86 17.96	14.61 11.87	3.26 6.09	52.27 53.35	19.19 19.53	14.24 13.56
Hawaii.....	(1909.. 1.84 1908.. 7.12)	.92 3.56	.92 3.56	15.64 46.27	13.80 39.15	1.84 7.12	52.56 37.61	19.18 13.76	16.25 10.73
Army transports.....	(1909.. 1.45 1908.. 8.31)	.96 7.48	.48 .83	1.45 8.31	.96 7.48	.48 .83	30.97 35.75	11.30 13.08	17.53 17.21
Total.....	(1909.. 4.91 1908.. 6.13)	3.02 3.48	1.88 2.65	21.75 24.62	18.22 19.99	3.52 4.62	41.48 42.68	15.14 15.62	14.24 13.15
Regular Army, American troops, 1899 to 1908.....	10.85	7.35	3.50	34.15	27.79	6.36	.....	.....	.....

The above table is from the report of the Surgeon General, United States Army, for 1910, and deaths occurring in the United States from disease contracted in the Philippines are credited to the station of the regiment to which the soldier belonged.

COAL.

The coal supply for the Philippines and ships coaling there come mainly from Japan and Australia. The only mines operated in the archipelago are on the island of Batan. The coal is comparatively light and is inferior to that of Japan and Australia. It will not, except in emergency, be used by the Navy, as the zone of movement would be too limited on account of the proportion of bulk to the energy evolved. It has, however, been tried on the transport *Diw*, being used with fairly satisfactory results from Manila to Seattle. It will answer well for interisland transportation. The deposits have not been determined sufficiently by expert examination. A mine is being operated on the island by the East Batan Coal Co. at a cost of

approximately 40 cents gold per ton, not including the cost of administration nor interest on the investment. This coal is sold to the trade at \$3.25 gold per ton, f. o. b. ship.

I visited and examined carefully the mine and plant which has been operated by the War Department. As near as I could get the figures, the cost of actual operation was \$3,400 a month and, excluding that part of the force there engaged in taking care of material in the old entries and storing property, is approximately \$2,500 a month, and this is as low a figure as the operations can be carried on for with the present output.

The officer in charge informed me that the approximate cost is \$10 a ton on board ship. This cost per ton can not be materially reduced without further development of entries. While the general opinion seems to be that there is sufficient coal on the government property to warrant further development, there is no reliable evidence. It is largely a matter of conjecture. If such development could be carried on so that the total cost of production would not exceed the cost of coal to the government by purchase, I would feel justified in using the Army transportation fund which has hitherto been used for that purpose; but, in view of the present actual cost and the problematic results of further attempts at development, I did not feel justified in continuing the work and directed it to be immediately shut down.

A topographical survey is now being made, with a view of getting data for expert examination. The cost of the plant there up to the present time to the government amounts to \$379,640.59 and there has been used from the mine coal to the value of \$85,000. There are valuable houses and much valuable machinery, much of which would be a loss if the work should be abandoned. On account of the vital importance to the islands of ascertaining definitely as to the coal supply and to the Army and Navy of having, especially in case of war, a supply near the scene of possible operations, and also in view of the expenditures that have been made, I recommend that competent experts be employed to investigate the coal deposits on the government lands at this point and elsewhere where there are outcrops or other indications of coal and that Congress be asked to make an appropriation for this purpose.

HOTEL.

Manila, one of the most attractive cities in the world, has not had its just share of travelers because it has not possessed those accommodations demanded by the wealthier class who travel for pleasure. There is much to attract and interest in the Philippines.

On the 1st day of September, 1910, a memorial tablet was placed for a first-class hotel upon the site designated by Mr. Burnham, and the building, modern in all of its features, will be pushed to a speedy completion. Knowing how largely foreign cities draw upon the capital of travelers, and what large benefits they derive from this source, the establishment of a first-class hostelry which can cater to the tastes of such people in a city which has for the lack of such accommodations repelled them, is an event of no small significance. The estimated cost of the building and furnishing is ₱900,000, of which ₱600,000 were loaned by the insular government upon bonds secured by mortgage.

HOSPITAL IN MANILA.

The opening of the general hospital for patients took place while I was in Manila, and I had the pleasure of attending. The event justly attracted great attention. The buildings are handsome, commodious, and constructed of stone and concrete upon the best modern type. The appointments are in every way up to date. Except in size it is, in all essentials, not in any way inferior to the best of such institutions constructed upon the most approved plans in America. Too much credit can not be given to Dr. Victor G. Heiser for the skill and knowledge with which he has directed this monumental work. It is an institution of which Manila can justly be proud, for it is a conspicuous exponent of its civic progress.

FODDER.

Attention was directed to this subject in your special report. No substantial results have been obtained in producing clover or alfalfa. Experiments have been made by the Agricultural Department in curing a native hay, but up to this time it has not been utilized by the Army. The cost of provender brought from the United States is enormous and constitutes a large part of the extra expense of maintaining our soldiers in the Philippines over that in the United States. The cost of delivering American hay at Camp Keithley is estimated to be in excess of \$40 per ton. A horse ordinarily consumes 14 pounds a day, which makes the cost about 28 cents per day. The cost of oats is proportionately high. I saw Army horses and mules at Jolo mainly sustained by native produce. No effort should be spared to promote such culture as will supersede a large part of, if not all, importation of provender. This would result not only in a large saving in the Army expenses, but would add to the agricultural prosperity of the islands. I was so much impressed with the necessity of taking more vigorous steps than had hitherto been taken for such development that I appointed a board consisting of the secretary of public instruction of the Philippine Islands, the director of agriculture of the Philippine Islands, one officer of the Quartermaster's Department, and two officers of the Cavalry arm of the United States Army, said officers to be designated by the commanding general of the Philippines Division, with instructions to investigate the subject of raising forage for horses and mules in the Philippines, and to devise and recommend plans for the economical production of forage for draft animals of the Army and other branches of the Government, with permission to said board to avail itself of the services of experts connected with the insular bureau of agriculture and other branches of the insular government and of the Philippines Division of the United States Army.

At Camp Stotsenberg guinea grass is being used to some extent in lieu of the hay ration.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

A visit to the agricultural college at Los Banos and an examination of the work it is doing and the care and success characterizing it give confidence that benefits will come from it to agriculture in the Philippines like those which have come in recent years from such institutions in America. Original investigations are being made as

to insects which are noxious to plant life, and already gratifying success has attended them. The beetle, which has been so destructive to the coconut trees, will be brought under control and great sums will thus be saved yearly to this large industry, upon which the living of so many of the inhabitants depends. Much of this research work is being done by the students under the able direction of Edgar M. Ledyard. Experiments are being made in plants, seeds, and trees and their adaptations. Undoubtedly improvement in agricultural methods and an increase in yield from the propagation from selected seeds will follow. All the work, including that of farming, is done by students. The cost is so small as to bring the benefits of the institution within the means of those in moderate financial condition. It is popular and patronized by the wealthier classes who are interested in agriculture. The idea has prevailed, and not without warrant, that the Filipinos of the better class, on account of their training under Spanish ideals, condemn manual labor. A healthy change is becoming manifest. Here I saw working in the fields several sons of men of wealth, and they took great pride in their work. The institution was opened in June, 1908, and now there are 90 students. Dr. Copeland has under him experts from America in the various lines of specialties in agriculture.

The mainstay of the islands is, and doubtless always will be, agriculture. The want of iron, the character of timber, and the quality and limited supply of coal preclude the expectation that manufacturing will ever become a very prominent feature of industry. While broadly speaking this is true, yet capital can develop a great variety of profitable industries that will diversify the products of the islands and give lucrative employment to many of the inhabitants.

Copra and hemp, instead of being shipped in their crude form, from which the lowest profit is derived, should be manufactured in the islands. All of the copra is shipped in its raw state. Some hemp is made into cordage, but the amount is inconsiderable. The condition is very much the same as that which obtained in our Southern States when practically all of the cotton was shipped out to be manufactured. A vast change has come to the prosperity of those States since they have extensively developed home manufactures. Much of the profit which should accrue to the agriculturist in the islands is lost, owing to the want of proper care in preparing copra and hemp for market. The copra from Java brings a higher price by \$8 per ton than that exported from the Philippines, owing to its better preparation for market.

The bureau of agriculture is sending experts to the farmers to instruct them in better methods.

Hemp-stripping machines which are regarded as successful are now being used in Davao, Albay, and Leyte. If they shall prove to be what is claimed for them, a great economy will follow in hemp production and better prices will be realized on account of the improvement in grade. The price of hemp has been low for the last two years.

The prostration of agriculture in certain sections on account of the loss of carabao from rinderpest is gradually recovering. It is thought that in three or four years the normal condition in this respect will be restored.

The sugar planters in the southern islands have, on account of good crops and the rise in price in sugar owing to the Payne bill, been so prosperous that they are making large importations of carabao from China, and at the present rate of progress will be sufficiently supplied.

Periodically the locust pest has inflicted serious losses upon the farmers. The bureau of agriculture has ascertained their breeding places and a systematic war of extermination is being successfully carried on. In this work the constabulary give valuable assistance. On the whole the agricultural condition is good.

When the plans for transportation now contemplated are carried out, wider markets are opened, animal diseases and noxious insects are brought under control, land titles are settled so that farmers can avail themselves of their lands as a basis of credit, and the irrigation system now planned is completed, agriculture will be on a more substantial basis and will not be subject to the prostrating conditions which hitherto have affected it.

The following table gives a comparison of the fiscal years from 1907 to 1910, inclusive:

Articles.	1907		1908	
	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.
Hemp..... tons.....	112, 889	\$21, 085, 081	113, 999	\$17, 311, 808
Copra..... pounds.....	108, 206, 130	4, 053, 193	168, 474, 820	5, 461, 680
Sugar..... do.....	265, 189, 835	3, 934, 460	334, 464, 646	5, 664, 666
Tobacco, and manufactures of:				
Leaf..... do.....	29, 910, 788	1, 957, 488	23, 187, 231	1, 581, 741
Cigars..... thousands.....	116, 719	1, 051, 621	117, 564	1, 064, 078
All other.....		120, 085		48, 727
Miscellaneous.....		1, 519, 839		1, 677, 116
		33, 721, 767		32, 829, 816

Articles.	1909		1910	
	Quantities.	Values.	Quantities.	Values.
Hemp..... tons.....	147, 621	\$15, 833, 577	168, 090	\$17, 404, 922
Copra..... pounds.....	232, 728, 116	6, 657, 740	256, 559, 997	9, 153, 951
Sugar..... do.....	247, 752, 186	4, 373, 338	281, 564, 991	7, 040, 690
Tobacco, and manufactures of:				
Leaf..... do.....	23, 603, 142	1, 668, 234	21, 417, 722	1, 598, 557
Cigars..... thousands.....	116, 278	1, 083, 702	196, 592	2, 973, 630
All other.....		40, 317		65, 308
Miscellaneous.....		1, 387, 550		1, 649, 794
		31, 044, 458		39, 886, 852

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

I heard while in the Philippines various criticisms of the insular administration. This was to have been expected and necessarily arises where people are interested in and understand public affairs.

It has been a source of satisfaction to me that, although full opportunity has been given, charges of official dishonesty have been few. In my judgment, the administration in the Philippine Islands will compare favorably with that given either by the United States or by the several States in America, and I am of the opinion that more numerous complaints and of a more serious character are made in the United States than in the islands.

I am satisfied and I believe that anyone who makes a careful study of the personnel of the Philippine government will feel that the United States has just reason to be proud of the government it has established in the Philippine Islands.

I have confidence in the integrity and ability of the Governor General, who is giving his whole mind and heart to his work.

RECOMMENDATIONS.

(a) I beg to refer to what I have heretofore said with reference to the coal mines on the island of Batan, owned by the United States Government and operated by the Quartermaster's Department of the Army. I renew the recommendation that an appropriation of \$250,000 be made for the exhaustive study and development of this property. This recommendation was submitted in the estimate of appropriations for the fiscal year 1910.

(b) I renew the recommendation made in my annual report as Secretary of War in 1909, that provision be made for the retirement of American civil employees after long and faithful service under the Philippine government.

(c) On March 22, 1910, after a careful study of the recommendations of the Philippine Commission and after conference with you, I recommended:

First. That the limit of indebtedness which may be incurred by the Philippine government for public works and improvements be increased from \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000. A bill providing for this has passed the Senate and has been favorably reported by the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives. I recommend that the passage of this bill be urged.

Second. I repeated the recommendation made by you for the amendment of the mining laws in accordance with several recommendations of the Philippine Commission. A bill to make this recommendation effective was introduced in the Senate and was subsequently referred to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Philippines. I recommend that this bill be given early consideration.

Third. Following the recommendation of the Philippine Commission, I recommended the enactment of legislation to enable certain classes of Filipinos now excluded and aliens to become "citizens of the Philippine Islands." A bill effecting this was introduced in the Senate but did not, in the form presented, meet the approval of the Committee on the Philippines. I recommend that this matter be given further consideration.

Fourth. I also recommended certain amendments to the organic act to increase the amount of land which may be homesteaded and the amount which may be sold to individuals. I am, after further study, still of the opinion that the legislation in this regard recommended was conservative and wise, but, in view of the fact that there is to be an investigation of the general subject of the handling of the public lands of the Philippine Islands by a committee of the House of Representatives, I withhold any recommendation as to this matter pending the conclusion of said investigation.

Respectfully submitted.

J. M. DICKINSON,
Secretary of War.

The PRESIDENT.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX A.

List of petitions submitted to the Secretary of War during his visit to the Philippines and of the petitioners.

Petitioner.	Subject.
NEGROS OCCIDENTAL.	
14 municipal councils.....	Investigation of charges by Representative Martin. Sale of San Jose estate declared by them illegal.
4 municipal councils and provincial board.....	Immediate establishment railroad line in Negros Occidental.
5 municipal councils.....	Establishment Filipino senate.
3 municipal councils.....	Filipinization all public offices in islands.
2 municipal councils.....	Congress formally declare intention to grant independence to Philippines, and not to retain, cede, or alienate any part thereof.
4 municipal councils.....	Immediate independence all Philippine Islands.
2 municipal councils.....	Discontinuance government Moro Province and establishment of civil government similar to that elsewhere in islands.
1 municipal council.....	Equalization of salaries in public offices as between Americans and Filipinos.
2 municipal councils.....	That Secretary of War obtain from Congress a money prize for person discovering efficient remedy for cattle diseases in islands.
1 municipal council.....	That bureau of lands facilitate homesteading by preparing map of lands which may be homesteaded, and furnish copy to each municipality.
1 municipal council.....	Extend period of study of Filipino students in United States to 6 years.
1 municipal council.....	That Congress extend term of office of all elective officials in islands to 4 years.
2 municipal councils.....	Reduction of salaries and wages of government officials and employees in Philippine Islands.
3 municipal councils.....	Applauding work of Messrs. Legarda and Quezon in Congress.
1 municipal council.....	Removal of limitations on importation of sugar, tobacco, and other Philippine products into United States free of duty.
2 municipal councils.....	Power to Philippine Legislature to enact laws regulating emigration of labor from the islands.
Municipal council, Pontevedra, Aug. 1, 1910.	Protesting against sale of friar lands in large tracts and requesting abolition of customs tariff between United States and Philippines.
Same body, Aug. 16, 1910.....	Asking Secretary Dickinson to support Commissioner Quezon's recommendation to Congress for an elective senate and empowering the assembly to enact legislation restricting immigration.
Provincial board.....	Authority for province to issue \$500,000 in bonds, proceeds to be used for construction of public roads and bridges.
Provincial board.....	Power of Philippine Legislature to legislate for entire Archipelago, including Moro Province.
OTHER PROVINCES.	
Filomeno O. Zafra and 278 others, Minglanilla, Cebu, Aug. 10, 1910.	Right to make commercial treaties with foreign nations. Right to draw up their own constitution. An elective senate. Appointment of a Filipino Vice Governor General. One-half of secretaryships of executive departments. Greater representation on supreme court. Authority for assembly to legislate for Moro and non-Christian provinces. Power to assembly to investigate and censure, and impose upon administration policy of majority. Congress to fix area of friar lands that may be sold at same limit as that fixed for public lands. Homestead law be not amended as to area. Appeals to United States Supreme Court in amounts of \$12,500 instead of \$25,000, as at present. Law regulating emigration of laborers to foreign countries. Trial by jury. Independence as soon as possible. Creation of an elective senate. Appointment of a Filipino as Vice Governor General. Appointment of Filipinos to half or more of the secretaryships of executive departments. Greater Filipino representation on the supreme court. Extension of authority to the assembly to legislate for the Moro and other non-Christian provinces. Legislation by Congress restricting sale of friar lands to occupants, or if unoccupied, to Filipinos and corporations, and limiting area to that of public lands. Provisions of homestead law relating to area be not amended. Appeals to United States Supreme Court in amount of \$12,500 instead of \$25,000, as at present. Power to assembly to enact legislation prohibiting, restricting, and favoring the immigration of laborers.
Municipal council of Calumpit, Bulacan, Aug. 15, 1910.	

List of petitions submitted to the Secretary of War during his visit to the Philippines and of the petitioners—Continued.

Petitioner.	Subject.
OTHER PROVINCES—continued.	
Presidents of the various committees of Nacionalista Party of Iloilo, Aug. 27, 1910.	Immediate independence.
Municipal council, Cebu, Aug. 17, 1910.	That the resolution introduced in Congress by Senator Crane is in accord with sentiments of people of Naga, and provides that copy of this resolution be sent to Senator Crane and Secretary Dickinson.
Municipal council of Naga, Cebu, Aug. 17, 1910.	Indorsing resolutions adopted at mass meeting at Manila Opera House, May 22, 1910, protesting against sale of friar lands to the trusts
Municipal council of Cebu, July 28, 1910.	Applauding Senator Crane for resolution calling for Philippine independence, and providing that a copy be forwarded to Secretary Dickinson.
Municipal council, Cebu, July 28, 1910.	Expressing accord with action taken by Representatives Martin and Slayden regarding sale of friar lands.
Tómas Aréjola, deputy from Ambos Camarines, Aug. 11, 1910, to Secretary of War.	Requesting him to faithfully interpret to the Government the aspirations of the Filipino people for immediate independence and, preliminary thereto, the granting of an elective Senate.
Municipal council of Talisay, Ambos Camarines, Aug. 6, 1910.	Immediate independence.
Mass meeting of people of Capiz, Aug. 23, 1910.	Immediate independence, and, in lieu thereof, (1) power to make their own constitution, (2) an elective senate, (3) the Filipinization of the public service.
Convention of municipal presidents of Pangasinan, Aug. 27, 1910.	Immediate independence.
Convention of municipal presidents of Cavite, July 23, 1910.	Protesting against sale of friar lands in amounts greater than 1,024 hectares, and expressing accord with Representative Martin's action.
Municipal council, Sorsogon, July 21, 1910.	Applauding Representative Martin for his resolution calling for investigation of friar land sales, and requesting Government to sell friar lands only to occupants, or if unoccupied, to Filipino individuals or corporations.
Municipal council, Dingle, Iloilo, Aug. 24, 1910.	Protesting against sale of friar lands to the trusts.
Municipal presidents, Pangasinan Province, Aug. 27, 1910.	Asking the Secretary to endeavor to obtain for the Philippine Islands and elective senate, to be purely Filipino, and trial by jury.
Municipal council, Mulanay, Tayabas, Aug. 5, 1910.	Congratulating Senator Crane and Commissioner Quezon, and welcoming the Secretary.
Municipal president, councilmen, and residents of Arevalo, Iloilo, Aug. 26, 1910.	Suspension for one year of customs duty on rice imported from Saigon, or the reduction thereof on account of poor crop in islands this year.
Municipal council, Narvacan, Ilocos Sur, Aug. 1, 1910.	Applauding action of Representative Martin; and requesting that the Secretary report to the Government that sale of San Jose estate is illegal and should be annulled.
Matias Hilado, delegate of the Nacionalista Party, Negros Occidental, and Fernandez Yanson and Salvador Laguda, representatives of the National Progresista Party in that province, to Secretary of War, Aug. 25, 1910.	Requesting him to endeavor to obtain for the Filipinos greater participation in the more important affairs of their government
Philippine Chamber of Commerce, Manila, Sept. 1, 1910.	Objects to rate and system of taxation and to the budget and burden of expense of running the government.
	Complains of insufficient currency; of the miserable condition of agriculture through loss of work animals and insufficient capital that the government shipyards, machine shops, bureau of supply, prison workshop, ice and printing plants present an unfair competition to manufacture by individuals; that the government revenue cutters come into competition with coastwise vessels, which endangers the continuance of some navigation companies; of the difficulties and hardships experienced by tobacco factories and distilleries in conducting their business; and that the Filipino has little chance of success in competition with foreigners.
	Suggests the necessity of reducing the expenses of administration of the government, and that the Filipino should be trained in commerce.
Province of Bulacan.....	Notwithstanding their aspiration for immediate independence, petition for an elective senate, independent of the judicial power, increase of provincial autonomy, restoration of municipal autonomy, reduction of tax on alcohol, and reduction of the budget.
Certain Christian inhabitants of the island of Mindoro.	Protesting against the extension to that island of the régime for the government of non-Christian tribes.

NOTE.—These petitions are in the department and will be submitted to you or to Congress, if desired.

APPENDIX B.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF WAR, HELD IN MARBLE HALL, AYUNTAMIENTO, MANILA, ON SEPTEMBER 1, 1910.

The public session was opened by the honorable the Secretary of War at 10 o'clock a. m. The addresses were delivered in Spanish, interpreted by Mr. Rupert D. Fergusson, chief of the translating division, executive bureau, and reported stenographically.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. It has been erroneously stated that during my stay in this country I would at all times be surrounded by public officials and by Americans who would not allow me to hear the voice of the people. That is not true. In proof thereof, in my journey to the northern Provinces and in my recent journey to the southern Provinces, as well as during my stay in Manila, I have at all times endeavored to come in contact with the people without any official intermediary. In order to do so more efficiently I have accepted the hospitality of Filipino homes for some days, where persons desiring to do so were at liberty to visit me.

I have always believed in a full and free discussion of public matters. My life work has been that of a lawyer, and part of the time that of a judge. Therefore the habit of my mind and training has led me to believe that large value is to be attached to a full and fair discussion of every question. Of great value to a court is the presentation and argument of the questions which it has to decide from the several points of view of the parties in interest. I have had a great many interviews and besides have had a great many papers presented to me of various characters, some of them referring to questions of administration and some referring to what I might denominate the reciprocal relations between the Philippine Islands and the Government of the United States. I have replied to most and before I finish I will reply to all of these communications.

As to those questions relating to administration, I shall put them in the way of investigation, and shall, as soon as my opportunities will permit, give them such attention as I think they deserve. In respect to those petitions and papers which refer to the existing relations between the Philippine Islands and the United States, I have to the authors of these papers stated, to some verbally and to others in writing, that I will bring them to the attention of those authorities in the United States which are invested with jurisdiction over those questions.

In pursuance of this general purpose upon my part in coming here to learn what I can about those matters which affect the various interests here, I am at this public meeting for the purpose of listening to any representations which any of you gentlemen may desire to make.

MR. LEOCADIO JOAQUIN. The Secretary of War has stated in the last paragraph of his address that he was disposed to hear any representations that might be made to him on this occasion. I wish to inquire of the Secretary of War if it is his purpose to hear only those persons who are able to show that they represent some element in the community or some party or some interest?

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. I can not undertake to decide whom a man represents and I shall treat everybody here on the same footing, and I shall accord equal rights to all.

MR. JOAQUIN. We are grateful for the courtesy of the honorable the Secretary of War in giving us the opportunity on this occasion of hearing all representations or complaints as may be made at this time.

As to the first question which I shall submit to the honorable the Secretary of War, the principal, ever-remaining and permanent question in this country is the question of agriculture. We all know that the basis of every government is founded on a good condition of agriculture and that the basis of every country or people also rests on agriculture. Unfortunately, Mr. Secretary, for more than 10 years past the Philippines have been sighing and groaning under a frightful

burden due to the deplorable condition of our agriculture. The representatives of the United States have sought the most practical means to find a cure for this condition of affairs, and as a remedy they have found the establishment of an agricultural bank. In theory, the bank has had apparently a brilliant success, but in practice it is really a dead letter. The agricultural bank has no branches in the Provinces or municipalities. It makes its loans from the Manila headquarters. It has encountered many obstacles in reaching the agriculturist, so that it is impossible for him to secure any money from said bank. As an essential requisite, as an indispensable one, is the furnishing of a Torrens title to land, a title which has been made legal by the enactment of the land registration act. As this law was but recently enacted, most of our lands have not Torrens titles, but have titles that were derived from the Spanish Government or under Spanish law. At the present time there are many difficulties in the way of obtaining a Torrens title. There are many minute requirements on the part of the bureau of lands relating to the making of plans. This is a requirement which paralyzes the work, as there are very few agriculturists who can get these plans. Before the enactment of a recent law, which regulates the practice of surveying in the islands, there were over 1,000 surveyors who were duly qualified by colleges and institutions of learning as such. This law, which was enacted about two years ago, has disqualified all of these qualified surveyors, who, as I have already said, numbered over 1,000, and I can now assure your honor that there are probably not more than 100 qualified-by-the-government surveyors at the present time in the islands. They are the only persons who are competent to survey land, whose plans will be admitted by the court of land registration in the acquisition of Torrens titles. This, then, is the first obstacle that a man finds who is not in possession of a Torrens title in the making of the plans, survey of the land, etc.

In addition to the other obstacles that are put in the way of the survey of the land by the bureau of lands, this fact alone—this lack of surveyors—is of itself, sufficient to make it impossible, or at least very difficult, for the agriculturist to acquire a Torrens title.

If all of these obstacles are obviated and a Torrens title is acquired, a landowner, in Surigao, for example, after making a trip of from eight to sixteen days in order to secure a loan from the agricultural bank in Manila, and after negotiating with the bank, will be able to secure only one-tenth of the value of the property as a loan. That is to say, if the property is worth ₱10,000 he may secure a loan for ₱1,000. As you can understand, a property owner who has property worth ₱10,000 can scarcely hope to find a remedy for his present condition by the loan of ₱1,000. Really, we do not understand why, the restriction being so great as regards the amount of the loan that will be given with relation to the value of the property, there are so many other restrictions, if it is the purpose of the bank to find a cure for the present condition of affairs as regards agriculture.

It is for this reason that scarcely one-tenth of the arable lands of the Philippines are under cultivation and we must add to all this the burden of the land tax and another great difficulty which the property owner has to meet—the lack of money to buy cattle with and to improve his property. Such a landowner will probably default in the payment of the land tax owing to the fact that he has not enough money with which to pay the tax, and the logical and certain consequence of all this is—as has often been seen—that practically everybody's property in the end will be seized by the government and be sold for taxes.

These are the principal obstacles that up to the present time our agriculture has found in the way of its development. When the country is sinking lower and lower into poverty, many property owners in the Provinces have recommended that the government of the Philippine Islands secure from the United States Government all of the capital necessary to establish branches of the agricultural bank in the Provinces and municipalities. Such branches should have all the necessary capital in proportion to the extent of rice land and agricultural land in each district. The advantages that according to many agriculturists would be derived from this method would be the facilities afforded to them in the matter of the applications for loans.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what capital he thinks is necessary to accomplish what he has in mind for the whole Philippine Islands.

MR. JOAQUIN. The amount of the capital would be based upon the proportion of the arable and agricultural lands in each district and the data in regard

to these can be easily secured from the provincial treasurers who have a list of all these properties as assessed for taxation.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he has in mind an idea of the total capital that would be necessary to carry out his views.

Mr. JOAQUIN. That is a very difficult question to determine. It is a question of mathematics.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Can you give it approximately?

Mr. JOAQUIN. About ten times as much as the present capital. (As the present capital of the agricultural bank is ₱1,000,000, this would mean a capital of ₱10,000,000.) The distribution of this capital among the provinces and municipalities by the general manager of the bank in Manila under the inspection of his deputies, who would be the provincial and municipal treasurers, would, we believe, solve the question, and I shall not dwell very much longer on this point. I wish to assure you that this is the principal evil. Any remedies that might be given to other bureaus or other departments of the government should be united together and be placed here. This remedy is as urgent for the agriculture of the country as a cure would be for a man who is about to die for want of medicine. I have been over many of the provinces and I have found that there are very many families who are able to eat only one meal a day because they have not got money or food to eat oftener.

As a matter of secondary importance but as a corollary to the principal question, I shall take up the question of tax assessment on land, which is another factor which contributes to the principal evil that affects agriculture. I have demonstrated in the beginning of my address that the farmer without capital will in course of time be crushed, and that this property will be liable to seizure by the government and to be sold for taxes. Many farmers also recommend that there be secured through the honorable Secretary of War a reform in the land tax in such a way that it will not fall upon the value of the land but upon the value of the products of the land, as it is not just or fair to punish the property owner who is unable to pay the tax on his land when he has no money with which to pay it; nor is it fair that the tax should be upon the value of the land and not upon the value of the products.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him this—if he thinks that land that is unproductive should not be taxed at all.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Practically, in accordance with equity, it would appear not.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that suppose a lot of rich men bought up to the extent that the law permits all the uncultivated land in the islands, then they would own and control them, and not contribute to the expenses of the government.

Mr. JOAQUIN. If the honorable Secretary of War will pardon me, I can not conceive of such a condition of affairs either in theory or in practice.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he can not conceive of men taking their money and buying land to the extent that the law permits?

Mr. JOAQUIN. Yes, sir; perfectly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Well, then, let him suppose that they hold those lands as an investment with a view to selling them. Ought they not to pay anything on them for sustaining the government?

Mr. JOAQUIN. I do not think that the case could happen in practice, because a rich man when he buys land as an investment is not going to allow the land to become overgrown with brush and forest and yield him nothing. We have an example here recently of capitalists buying lands with the purpose of cultivating them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that some of the most immense fortunes that have been made in America have been made by rich men buying up land and waiting for the country to develop, and thus acquired fortunes of millions and millions of dollars in that way, and if they do not contribute to the expenses of Government on these lands it would be an injustice to the people who bear this burden.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I fully agree with the Secretary of War that such things have happened in America, but that would be impossible where the same conditions do not prevail. This country is not developed as is the United States. Where individuals have bought large tracts of land in the Philippines for the purpose of holding them as an investment, they have found at the end of the first year that much of the land they have bought is in forests and has depreciated in value about one-third, and at the end of the second year that it has depreciated one-half, and if allowed to go without cultivation altogether that it has become practically valueless.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Suppose they buy lands in their primitive state and hold them free from taxation. There can not be any depreciation in price.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Of course, if the lands bought are arable land they would quickly depreciate in value on account of the excessive and exuberant tropical growth, which would convert them into forests in a very short time.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Suppose they are already forest when bought. Are those lands to be held without taxation?

Mr. JOAQUIN. Here in the Philippine Islands as forest lands are Government lands they are not as a general rule the objects of purchase and sale.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him wouldn't they be the object of purchase if a man could hold them without being taxed on them?

Mr. JOAQUIN. Forest land would yield him nothing, and he would not be able to dispose of it as forest land. There is no market for forest lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I just wanted to get his view. I understand what his opinion is. Tell him to proceed.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Let us admit hypothetically the supposition put by the honorable Secretary of War. If a law were to be enacted making taxation on the net proceeds from the products of lands and then some rich man wished to take advantage of the situation by purchasing the land and holding it, with the object of defrauding the Government, I believe that in that event the law might be amended to suit such cases. In such cases there might be given such extension of time within which it might be obligatory upon the owner to cultivate the land if it were possible for him to do so. Certainly no man can be compelled to do what is impossible. If he failed to comply with this condition of placing his land under cultivation, and thus making it subject to taxation within the time specified by law, then he might be adjudged as maliciously designing to defraud the Government. The government of the Philippine Islands has had a practical view of my contention and has fallen in with my view by having exempted certain provinces where the crops were bad from the payment of the land tax during several successive seasons. I finish now the principal question, which I believe the Secretary of War thoroughly understands and that he fully realizes what is needed for the country.

I pass on to the second subject.

It has been observed in practice that there is a great lack of lawyers in the courts of justice. During the Spanish Government there was a certain number of attorneys who were paid by the Government to devote their services free to poor clients.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him does he mean in civil as well as criminal cases.

Mr. JOAQUIN. It was obligatory; it was compulsory in criminal cases, but not in civil cases, but they acted in civil cases also.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if in the courts here if a man is not able to employ counsel the courts do not assign lawyers to do it.

Mr. JOAQUIN. Yes, sir. That is the practice, and it is a bad practice, to be sure.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that is the practice that obtains everywhere in America. The lawyer is a sworn officer of the court, and he is bound to defend without charge any person not able to defend himself, if appointed by the court to do so.

Mr. JOAQUIN. That practice has been followed here ever since the establishment of American Government, but the results are deficient in practice.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him to state how.

Mr. JOAQUIN. The Secretary of War will agree with me that to human kind the chief incentive is money in every effort. Every effort that a man makes he does with the incentive of money.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I do not agree with him on that proposition at all. If I did, I would not be here as Secretary of War, because I can make more money in other ways.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I refer to professional cases. I say this because we have seen it in practice. For example, we have a trial of a criminal case and the defendant appears before the court. He is a poor man, and asks the court to appoint a counsel for him; and the court, who has not any lawyers to choose from as a general rule, will look around and see if there happens to be a lawyer in the court room, and the very first lawyer who happens to be in the court room is generally selected by the court to defend the unhappy man. The trial is immediately proceeded with. Now, the prosecuting attorney, who has probably pre-

pared his case a month before, has very much the best of it over the lawyer for the defendant who was just brought into the case at that very moment.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what is his remedy.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I would recommend that the old Spanish practice be adhered to. Under the Spanish form of government a lawyer was appointed *de oficio* to defend all poor defendants in criminal cases and he was paid a salary just as well as the district prosecuting attorney. I do not find that it is just and fair that a government should maintain an office for the prosecution of crime and at the same time maintain no establishment for the defense of poor defendants in criminal cases.

It is very necessary that the Government should take some steps to remedy this condition of affairs. When the vice governor made a visit to one of the Provinces some months ago he found a number of prisoners who had been in jail for over eight months. Their cases had not been disposed of, had not been brought to trial, and it was chiefly owing to the lack of some lawyer to defend them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him if the court went on with its session and appointed lawyers to defend them the delays would not happen because there were no lawyers, but because the court was not doing its duty and trying the cases before it.

Mr. JOAQUIN. The chief difficulty is in the organization of the courts. We have district courts so that a judge will hold sessions only once every three months in his court in one district and very often prisoners are not brought to trial for several months because the judge can not get around to it.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then the trouble is on account of the courts and not on account of not having regular salaried attorneys.

Mr. JOAQUIN. The chief difficulty is the want of a person appointed by the government to look after these poor cases, who will take an interest in each case and make the necessary preliminary investigation. The court is very much occupied all the time, and the delay in these cases is due to the fact that they are not brought to the attention of the court and disposed of, while other matters are.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him, suppose the court was not in session. Tell him also to proceed. I do not want to curtail his remarks, but I want to give others an opportunity to speak.

Mr. JOAQUIN. You are thoroughly informed on that point. The difficulty is due to the lack of lawyers *de oficio*. Such an attorney should have power to investigate the conditions of each case—each of these “pobre” (poor) cases—and bring them up before the court. It is as just that this should be as it is to have a prosecuting attorney’s office, which is well paid by the government. There should be another office of attorneys, called “defenders of the poor,” to investigate all such cases and bring them up before the court.

This question is the last. It is very arduous. It is really not incumbent upon me to bring it up, as I am only an individual. However, I have taken it upon myself to bring it to your attention because it is the subject of general complaint. We are dealing with the question of the Filipinization of the service. The truth must be told. The Filipinos employed at the present time who have had more than 10 years of experience are not justly compensated for their work. I shall not go into details, but I will say that it is a grievance on the part of the Filipino employees. All the Presidents of the United States have had as a motto for the Philippine Islands “The establishment of a government by Filipinos aided and taught by Americans.” After the visits that I have made into the provinces and the different departments of the government, I have become personally convinced of the justice and necessity of the equality before the law between native and foreign government employees. I wish that the Secretary would have it in mind that I take this matter up in representation of the employees.

We have all great confidence in the great American nation and that all of its good purposes for the Filipinos will be successfully carried out, if not at a very early time, at least in due time. One of the great purposes that the worthy ex-Presidents of the United States have announced with respect to the Philippines and one that had been put into the Philippine bill is the complete Filipinization of the government service.

If the honorable Secretary of War thinks that the hour has arrived for this to take place—

The SECRETARY OF WAR. For what to take place?

Mr. JOAQUIN. The Filipinization of the service. I thank the honorable Secretary of War very much for his kindness in hearing my impertinent representations.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I do not regard them as impertinent at all, but very relevant.

Mr. JOAQUIN. I thank you and I trust that taking into consideration your well-known democratic sentiments you will be a faithful interpreter of all the representations that have been made to you by the different persons during the time that you have been in the Philippines.

We desire you a happy voyage and that you will grant our petitions, if you deem them fair and just.

Mr. L. Gonzalez Lique, of the newspaper *La Vanguardia*, was the next speaker.

Mr. LIQUETE. I wish to state in the first place that I have not come prepared to speak. I am a newspaper man. I simply came here to get the news of this transcendental event, but as I have seen that none of the persons who devote themselves to politics has come forward to-day to give expression to his opinions, I should like to fill this vacuum by making a few remarks.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I shall be glad to hear you.

Mr. LIQUETE. I should, in the first place, like to express my adherence and support to everything that has been said by Mr. Leocadio Joaquin with respect to the Filipinization of the service. Mr. Joaquin has spoken in general terms. He has referred to the principles of the policy of America toward the Philippines respecting the insular administration. I should like to bring to the attention of the Secretary of War certain data which will prove that the principles and the promises that have been so repeatedly and so solemnly made by the Governors General, both in documents and in speeches—I should like to prove, I repeat, that these promises and principles are very far from being realized. I have read very carefully the reports of the Governors General, of the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, and of the Philippine Commission, and in the last report of the Governor General I have found something that might pass for an explanation regarding the difficulties in the way of the Filipinization of the service. This part of the Governor General's report says that one of the difficulties has been principally the lack of technical men among the Filipinos to do the work in connection with engineering and public works. This affirmation, of course, is true as regards technical Filipinos in engineering, but I do not think this is a reason sufficiently powerful to explain the conservative policy of the insular administration regarding the participation that the Filipinos ought to have in the administration of the Philippines. I understand that what is called the Filipinization—that is to say, the advisability and the necessity and the justice of giving the Filipinos a larger participation in the administration of the Philippines—would be a great advantage from a moral standpoint as well as from an economical standpoint. We have, for example, the bureau of health. In this bureau we have some technical Filipinos, who could occupy with great advantage to the service the highest offices in that bureau. We have the constabulary. Nearly all the steamers coming from America bring third lieutenants for the constabulary. I do not see any objection, and there are many advantages in having the said third lieutenants who come from the United States supplanted by Filipinos. I understand that these third lieutenants who come from America have been very carefully selected from among young men who have graduated from military colleges, but these gentlemen are not subjected to the examination that the Filipinos who aspire to the same rank have to pass here in the Philippines. This same careful selection might be made from among young men who graduate from the schools of the government here, and a preparatory school might be created for constabulary officers. The organization of the constabulary in the Philippines had for its purpose the creation of a national militia force which should be responsible for the preservation of public order, in such manner that when first organized the constabulary was composed in each Province of men who enlisted in that Province, where they were residents. A reform that would restore the confidence of many people who are doubtful of the good purpose of the United States would be to make the constabulary a national organization, a really Filipino organization, responsible for the preservation of public order.

With respect to other departments of the administration, the same thing might be said with respect to clerkships. The Filipinos are just as efficient up to a certain point as the Americans are, and the employment of Filipinos would mean a great reduction in the appropriations.

If you will permit me, I would like to deal with other matters also. I should like to touch on the question of the friar lands. In order fully to understand public sentiment on this matter, I believe it is necessary to remind you of the motives that led Mr. Taft to negotiate for the acquisition of these lands. These motives were fully explained by Mr. Taft in his special report made when Secretary of War. He there says that it was a great question affecting public order. He considered the question of the purchase of the friar lands as a question of state. He has repeated this very often—whenever he has touched upon the subject in his reports—and he has also repeated it many times at popular demonstrations that have been made in these islands against the retention of the friars in the Philippines. It is my opinion that the purchase of large areas of the friar lands by various interests is a trampling upon vested rights, rights that have been created by, and belong to, the former tenants of the friar estates.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Do you know of the purchase of any large quantity of land where the rights of former tenants have been disregarded?

MR. LIQUETE. Yes, sir; the Calamba estate.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Can you give me a list of the names of any men who were tenants and who were willing to buy and have not been permitted to buy and have been dispossessed by the purchasers of any such large area of land? I would like to have a list of the names of such persons. You may furnish it at any time convenient. It will be attached as an exhibit to your remarks.

(Mr. Liquete stated that he would do everything possible to get such a list.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. That is contrary to my present information and I would like to have the details.

(Mr. Liquete explained that he did not mean to say that any acts had been consummated already that have infringed the rights of the tenants of the friar estates, but that there is a decision of the Attorney General of the United States with respect to the sale of friar lands which can lead up to a result which will be tantamount to that.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. The law fully protects persons in possession, and the Attorney General's opinion has no bearing on that question. So far as I know every person who is in possession of the friar lands has had an opportunity to buy, and that so far as I know no one who was in possession has been dispossessed, as no one has bought lands so possessed, and if you have any information of that sort I would like to have it.

(Mr. Liquete thought that he could supply some data with reference to the subject.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I am very anxious to have it.

MR. LIQUETE. Some of the tenants who have been occupying the lands, in person and through inheritance, for a length of time have been unable to purchase them, though they have not as yet been dispossessed. They would in case that the lands were sold be dispossessed.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Does the gentleman know of any step that has been taken—any sale—which would dispossess these people? I know of no such thing, and if he has any information to that effect I should like to have it.

MR. LIQUETE. Very well, sir. I have nothing more to say, except to thank you very much.

(Mr. Liquete stated over the telephone on Sept. 2, 1910, that when he had gathered the data promised the Secretary of War he would forward it to him through the executive bureau. He, however, did not submit the data, and on return to Washington the Secretary inquired by cable and found that it had not been submitted.)

MR. LORENZO TATLONG NERI. I desire to speak in the name of and on behalf of my town, Santa Rosa, La Laguna. The Secretary of War passed through that town yesterday.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Are you an official?

MR. NERI. No, sir; but I wish to speak because I think that the matter I have to present to the Secretary of War lies within his jurisdiction.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. When he said he speaks on behalf of the town I wanted to know whether he was speaking as a volunteer, as a committee, or in an official capacity. I shall be very much pleased to hear whatever he has to say, even as an individual.

MR. NERI. In the month of June there was a popular assembly held in my "pueblo," and I was then appointed as one of the representatives to the national assembly, or, rather, convention, which it was sought to hold here in Manila in the presence of the Secretary of War. This is a question which

has to do with approximately some 200,000 hectares of land. These 200,000 hectares were excluded from the sale of the friar lands made by the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Co.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Did he say "excluded" or "included"?

Mr. NERI. They were excluded from the sale made by the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Co.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Who is that?

Mr. FERGUSSON. That was one of the selling companies to the Government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him who owns these 200,000 hectares.

Mr. NERI. A great many owners.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. The government did not buy it?

Mr. NERI. No, sir. They were excluded from the land which was sold with the friar estates. The purpose of the government in buying the lands of the friar estates was to give facilities to the tenants for acquiring the proper title to such lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. That was one of purposes but not all. Tell him I do not understand it that way. It was to get the friars away from here.

Mr. NERI. Yes, sir. That is true.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. And that was the main one?

Mr. NERI. Yes, sir. Now these lands which were excluded from the sale you will understand have been held for many years past by the present owners, but to-day it appears that the tenants are liable to be deprived of their rights.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. By whom?

Mr. NERI. By the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Co.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Is that a friar estates company? Who is that?

Mr. FERGUSSON. There are several companies here and the friars sold out to them. They were organized—

Mr. NERI. About a month ago the president of the Philippines Sugar Estates Development Co. wrote to all of the tenants on these lands who are actually on the land, who now occupy the land, saying that the company is ready to start to cultivate the lands on its own account and for its own benefit, so that it appears that the company seeks to deprive the tenants of the possession of the land.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. That is a legal question, is it not?

Mr. NERI. Yes, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Why don't the people interested get together and employ a lawyer and have him take up and bring it into the courts to protect their rights?

Mr. NERI. The reason is that the company to-day has absolute property rights over this land.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If they have absolute property rights over the land what does he think I can do?

Mr. NERI. We simply wish to state that it might be possible for you to use your influence in favor of these people and secure from the Congress of the United States authority for the purchase of these lands by the government in order that the government may then sell the lands back to the tenants as they did in the case of the friar lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if the friars have anything to do now with these lands.

Mr. NERI. I believe that the present Philippines Sugar Estates Development Co. is the same company that sold the friar lands to the government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if they have ever taken this matter up with the Governor General. Have they ever called this matter to his attention and asked him to investigate it and find out what the status is? If not, I think that is what they ought to do. Tell him I think that is the proper way to proceed, to initiate it anyway.

Mr. NERI. I thought I would avail myself of this opportunity in the understanding that you were here ready to listen to any complaints.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I am very willing to listen, but it seems to me that is the most practical way to proceed.

Mr. NERI. We are quite ready to do that, and we thank you very much. As you are going to the United States very soon and as Congress will meet very soon, and Congress must be called upon to give authority to purchase this land, I thought I would bring it to your attention so that you might bring it to the attention of Congress.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I could not do anything merely on his verbal statement, and I think there ought to be an investigation and some

authentic facts and papers to lay before Congress, and I have no doubt it will give the matter proper consideration.

MR. MONTENEGRO REYES. It will be a crime for us not to comply with the exigencies of this occasion. We understand perfectly that the honorable Secretary of War in an administrative way is the most distinguished personage that has visited these islands, because he is practically what we might call the administrative head of our government; and as his recommendations may result in a variety of benefits to this country, I do not wish to allow this opportunity to pass by without taking advantage of it at the same time I have the pleasure of speaking face to face with the highest representative of the Sovereign Government. The nobility of the soldier, such as I am, demands that I should talk with clearness and frankness, and to say that my people want immediate independence. [Applause.]

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what he means by "immediate independence"?

MR. REYES. We mean to say that we want to have independence under the protection of America, and right now—to-day, if possible.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him there is no probability of that either to-day or in the immediate future. Tell him he has spoken frankly and I would not be just with him if I did not also speak frankly to him.

MR. REYES. I thank you, Mr. Secretary, from the bottom of my soul that you have spoken so frankly—

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I never speak any other way.

MR. REYES. But I wish to make a representation to the honorable Secretary of War that will justly interpret the desires of my people.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I will be very glad to hear his statement and shall also be very glad to make same known to the President and to Congress.

MR. REYES. I thank you very much personally and on the part of the majority of the people for the honor which you have done us. I should like to enter upon another very important question if the Chair will kindly grant me a few minutes more.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Certainly.

MR. REYES. We have spoken here on agriculture. The wealth of the Filipino people lies in their agriculture. Some people have said that the Filipinos do not want to work, but I think that the reason that the Filipino does not work is because he is a colonist, a dependent—he is not working for himself.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him whom he is working for.

MR. REYES. Considering the conditions of the Filipino people and the fact that they are colonists—

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if anybody else is getting the results of their labor except themselves.

MR. REYES. I am simply making a premise. This matter involves a question upon which your influence, moral and otherwise, will be of great benefit to the people. I am referring to certain legislation here—such, for example, as the "bandolerismo" act, the brigandage act, a very severe law. The provisions of that law are so very strict that the Filipino fears to go out into the field and work. The Filipino looks upon this law as a sword of Damocles hanging over his head.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him what parts of this country his remarks apply to when he says that they are afraid to go out and work in their fields. I want to know what section of the country he refers to. I want to inquire into these conditions and remedy them if I can.

MR. REYES. I wish to cite the facts first—

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. No; I want him first to specify the facts. He has stated it as a fact, and now I want him to specify.

MR. REYES. Not very long ago, in a province the name of which I have forgotten, a gentleman, who is very well known here, was accused of bandolerismo or brigandage.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him he is getting away from the point. He is not answering my question. He stated that there were places in this country where the Filipinos were afraid to go out and work on account of that law, and I asked him where those places are, because I want to know the facts and I want to investigate them, and I want him to give the specific places.

MR. REYES. I will explain some facts to you that will justify me in making that remark. A farmer, who has a little bit of capital and sufficient energy and means to cultivate his land goes out to his estate, which is, as a general rule,

two or three or more kilometers from the center of the town. There he has no personal security, because there is no constabulary there, so that there is no security to the person. A few hungry people go there to his estate and make a demand on the property owner for some rice, and it is quite natural for this man, this property owner, either prompted by feelings of humanity or through intimidation, to yield to such demands. The law does not compel this man to find out whether these people are really brigands or not, although morally it may be incumbent upon him to find out whether they are brigands or not before giving him the rice. If he does give even 2 cavans or measures of rice, which he is giving in perfect good faith and with good intentions, he is, under the law, a bandit and he is prosecuted as such. Now, then, I have a good deal of confidence in the courts of justice as organized to-day and the men at the head of them as men of integrity. Now, this man who has been accused of brigandage, if he is not hanged, will get 20 years' imprisonment, or even if he is acquitted, the amount of money he expends in defending himself is lost entirely. Nobody pays it back to him. It is this condition of affairs that keeps the people from working their lands. They might go out and work their land and at the end of the year make ₱5,000, but on the other hand, they might be brought under the operations of the brigandage law and lose ₱10,000, if they do not go to jail. In view of the fact that there is no war or brigandage or disturbance of public order—we are all at peace in these islands here now—I am of the opinion that the remedy can be found in the amendment of this act, and I ask you to use your influence with the commission, in order that it will pass a bill amending or repealing the "bandolerismo" act when brought up by the assembly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Now tell him I want him to answer my question, which he has not answered. He says that at the present time in certain places the condition of affairs is such that a man is afraid to go out into his field and work on account of the operations of this law.

Mr. REYES. That is true, but that condition of affairs does not prevail in the provinces near Manila. However, it is not very long since that a millionaire property owner, Mr. Pedro Roxas, was brought under the operation of the "bandolerismo" act in the Province of Batangas.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he goes out into the field to work.

Mr. REYES. According to the newspapers he was out on his estate superintending the work.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. He said that the people were afraid to go out and work their lands.

Mr. REYES. What I meant to say was going out on their estates and working their lands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR (to Mr. Fergusson). You said "work in the fields." Now ask him if he knows of an instance now in any part of these islands where people are ever afraid to go out upon their lands to superintend them or are afraid to go out upon their lands and actually work them, and if so, please state what part it is. I want the facts to investigate them.

Mr. REYES. Actually at the present time I can not point to any particular place in the islands where just exactly this condition prevails, but I have pointed to consummated acts in the past that bear out what I have said. I myself was appointed administrator of an estate in the Province of Bataan. My appointment coincided exactly with the capture of Felipe Salvador.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. When was that?

Mr. REYES. About four weeks ago. When I got out there to the land, I was informed by the people living on the land that some of the followers of Felipe Salvador had passed through there and had been followed by the constabulary. It is my opinion that the constabulary did their duty, and nothing but their duty, in following those people, as it is their public duty to do so. Now, then, suppose I had been there when the constabulary came in pursuit of the bandits; had these bandits been to me the night before and asked me for rice or any other sort of food, under the operations of this law the fact of their having been on my place and talking to me and getting food from me would bring a prosecution against me.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Who passed this law and who can change it?

Mr. REYES. It is a law that was enacted by the Philippine Commission.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he has ever brought this matter to the attention of the Governor General and presented his ideas to him.

Mr. REYES. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him doesn't he think that is the proper way to do before going over his head to me. If he had gone there and gotten no relief, that would be a matter then that would be a just cause of complaint, but it seems to me that that would be the proper way to give him an opportunity to consider his views.

Mr. REYES. I understand that that is the proper administrative process.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I am very glad to hear what he has to say on the subject, but I think that is the most desirable way to reach an adjustment.

Mr. REYES. My idea was to convince you of the necessity of the amendment or repeal of this law in order that you may use your influence with the commission.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that he must understand that I could not recommend the repeal of a law on the mere ex parte statement, and I would have to refer the matter for an investigation by the government here, and the logical way is for him to take it up himself with the Governor General.

Mr. REYES. I know that you are the head of things out here, and I wanted to bring this important matter before you.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him I do not legislate. Congress, acting on my information, could disapprove legislation, but I do not legislate.

Mr. REYES. I understand that perfectly well. But I understand and so do the Filipino people understand that, knowing your prominence in the Taft Cabinet, you can make recommendations that will be acted upon. That is all I have to say.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that I am very glad to have heard him.

Mr. REYES. I thoroughly understand that you can not settle this question of independence; that you have not the legal power to do so, but we wish you to be the voice of the people.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him they have Representatives in Congress for that very purpose.

A letter was handed in to the Secretary of War by a messenger relative to the employment of certain Filipinos by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association.

A representative of the Nationalist Party then presented a memorial containing recommendations which the Nationalist Party desired the Secretary of War to present to the President of the United States, in order that he in turn might lay them before Congress. He stated that he and his party hoped that the Secretary of War would give them his best attention in submitting them to the President.

The Secretary of War assured him that he would do as he desired.

Mr. MARCELO ELORIAGO, physician, was then recognized.

Mr. ELORIAGO. I am encouraged to address you by the kindness with which you have addressed the people in opening this conference.

It is not my purpose to speak to you of the independence of the Philippines, for, although I, like all Filipinos, am possessed by the desire for a government of our own, because we contend that the Filipinos are prepared—not only prepared now, but have for a long time past been prepared and competent—to rule ourselves, but I have not come here to ask you for this independence, nor to speak about it, because it does not lie in your hands to grant it to us; nor shall I speak of this independence, though it is a very beautiful thing to those here present and to all Filipinos in general. Not only do we desire it very much, as your honor must have heard in your trip through the Provinces of this archipelago, where you have seen reflected this desire in the faces of all Filipinos, but you have heard it from the lips of all who have expressed themselves with sincerity. Nor do I come here to lay any complaint before you, though I, like the majority of Filipinos, would complain of the administration, not on account of the goodness or the badness with which it is carried on in the hands of the present public functionaries, but because, in our judgment, a radical change is necessary; that is to say, we want self-government. This you will call a political question, and as regards political matters, I will repeat, honorable sir, I have not come to take up your time. I come, honorable sir, for those unfortunate people who groan in the jails, asking for them, who are not of the class who have committed common crime, but those who have committed the crimes of sedition, rebellion, conspiracy, and "bandolerismo." These unfortunates, confined among common criminals, do not, in the public conscience, deserve such classification, because the common criminal commits an act for his own satisfac-

tion, either through motives of revenge and hatred, or cupidity, or by the exercise of dastardly and vile passions. These unfortunates have committed acts which, although illegal, they have been impelled to do by an idea for the welfare of their country, and they should not be confined, all the more so in time of peace. The confinement of these individuals by the Government can not be justified to-day, when peace is a fact and a beautiful reality, and therefore the confinement of these individuals is without reason. For this reason I come, honorable sir, to request of you and to ask you that before you leave these islands, before returning to your home, you leave behind you a beautiful remembrance of your journey over here and this remembrance consists of the following:

There are at present, and have been since July 1, 1910, according to data furnished by the bureau of prisons, 1 prisoner for sedition, 1 for conspiracy, 6 for rebellion, and 395 for "bandolerismo." I refer to the first three classes in my remarks. As regards the last class, a majority of them also belong to the class to which I refer. One of the most beautiful prerogatives of power is undoubtedly the pardoning power, and your honor is vested with that power. If, on arriving on these shores and after having seen the efforts put forth by all classes of society to make agreeable your short stay in these islands, the greatest recompense that could be hoped for from your honor is undoubtedly to open the doors of the jail, with the understanding, honorable sir, that in doing so you will carry as a trophy to your country the most fervent gratitude of the persons pardoned, of their families, and of this numerous gathering who hear my words at this moment, then all the Filipinos will once more esteem the perfect and accomplished gentleman who occupies the Secretaryship of War of the United States of North America, the perfect and accomplished gentleman who, with generous hands, returns the courtesy which has been bestowed upon him. I thank you.

Then followed an informal conference between the Secretary of War and Capt. Mens, of the Merchant Marine Service, relative to license fees paid by ship officers in the Philippines. The Secretary of War requested Capt. Mens to put his claim in writing, when it would receive due consideration.

MR. JOSE TURIANO SANTIAGO then asked, and was granted, permission to speak.

MR. SANTIAGO. I am the most humble man who has addressed you to-day. Mine is the voice of the poor—the voice of the laborers, members of the labor union of the Philippines, and of all other laborers throughout the islands.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. What do you mean by laborers? To what class do you refer as laborers?

MR. SANTIAGO. Laborers of all trades.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Hired laborers?

MR. SANTIAGO. I refer to all classes, consolidated into a general association.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR. Go ahead.

MR. SANTIAGO. This is a social question, that of capital and labor, the eternal question in all countries. It has been said and published and it is our conviction that the purpose of the Secretary of War in holding this meeting is to hear all complaints. We wish to make known what we suffer in our poor homes, morally and materially. We wish to have our present position improved, and we have this confidence in coming here, because we know that our voice will reach to a government and to a people who have proclaimed democracy. We have very many complaints, honorable sir, and those of an economic order, we the laboring men would state as follows:

While the rents of our homes and of the land which we occupy, the food which we are obliged to purchase, the clothing which we have to wear, and all the staple articles that are necessary to us are very high-priced, our wages are too low, and it appears that we are to lose the hope of obtaining by peaceful representations any improvement, because, honorable sir, whenever there comes any peaceful protest from the laborers, in order that the disinherited of fortune may make use of the only means left to them, the means which is made use of in all civilized countries, the means which has been taught and practiced by the great apostles, I will not say of socialism, but of statesmanship, in European and American countries—when we resort to the strike we have against us, at the side of the capitalist who oppresses us, all of the instruments of government, from the prosecuting attorney's office down to the most humble agent of police who arrests us. I shall tell the truth, as I am a man and have the weaknesses of a man. These declarations that I am going to make to you might,

perhaps, put me in the same category as those who have advocated independence, though what I advocate is social reform, and I speak for the thousands of laborers who are suffering from the conditions that prevail here. In the political order, I may say, we can find the cause of all our evils, which we have so sincerely laid bare to you. We have a popular chamber, the Philippine Assembly, which genuinely represents the Filipino people. We have this chamber to which we might appeal and to which we have decided to appeal during all the time that it shall exist, to put a stop to our evils and our sufferings, but we see, and with regret we see—and we must be sincere in telling you this—that this chamber, composed of the genuine representatives of the Filipino people, who did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves for their ideals, and that genuinely represents the hearts and minds of the people, is without real power. It appears that this popular chamber, when we appeal to it to carry out the purposes of the people, will turn to us and say that they are merely there to carry out the will of the sovereign.

The assembly not very long ago rejected the Payne bill by a very large majority and yet, against its will, against wind and weather, the Payne bill came into existence. We wish to keep this assembly, we wish to exalt it, but we wish that the voice of this assembly shall be heard, and shall never be strangled; that the assembly shall really have in practice the full autonomy to which it is entitled as the representation of the Filipino people. We do not wish to refer to any other concrete complaint, although we could mention many; we have presented this in concrete form in order to make a concrete example of our complaints in this one case.

We wish that an elective senate be organized as soon as possible, so that in some manner we may be able to have some guarantee of the acts of the popular chamber. There are laws, honorable sir, that exist in the Philippines that are not only not agreeable to the Filipino people, but will be the cause of general future discontent. There are laws that are not only aimed at the dignity and honor of the Filipinos, but also aimed against the dignity and honor of the sovereign nation that rules here.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. To what laws do you refer?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am going to explain. In the constitutional bill of the Philippines it has been prescribed by the American Congress, that expresses the will of the American people, that here in the Philippines no law shall be enacted which shall restrict the liberty of speech or of the press, and yet we have a libel law and a sedition law which were enacted as constitutional measures. I wish to say that they are contrary to the purposes of the act of Congress of July 1, 1902.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If you think that, why do you not take it to the Supreme Court of the United States and have it decided?

Mr. SANTIAGO. In my private opinion, it should be taken before the Philippine Assembly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If it is a question of constitutional law, the Supreme Court of the United States is the only tribunal that can settle it.

Mr. SANTIAGO. The representatives of the Filipino people who are delegates to the Philippine Assembly will take charge of that matter.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. You have a plain remedy if you think those laws unconstitutional and it is better to try that and get the thing settled if you think that your rights are infringed under those laws.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I am thoroughly convinced, as are also my associates, that the remedy lies in our hands, and for this reason our desire is that our popular chamber be converted into a genuine representative of the Filipino people, a genuine parliament.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. What do you mean when you say that the remedy lies in your hands?

Mr. SANTIAGO. That each one shall use the procedure that is open to him in order to seek a remedy that is legal.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. All right, you may proceed.

Mr. SANTIAGO. This is an example of some of the complaints that it is our duty to lay before you. All our complaints can be summed up in this, that we wish to have more legislative authority and autonomy given our legislative chamber; that within a very short time a Filipino elective senate should be organized, for if the same government is to rule hereafter as heretofore, all our efforts will be in vain. In the past, whatever has been approved by the lower house has been rejected by the upper house.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Are you stating facts when you say that the upper house is rejecting everything passed in the lower house?

Mr. SANTIAGO. This happens, and may happen at any time.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. My understanding is that at the last session the assembly passed over 20 laws that were sanctioned by the commission.

Mr. SANTIAGO. Yes, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. How does that tally with your statement that the commission disapproves everything that the assembly passes?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I do not wish to go into too much detail.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. But isn't that a flat contradiction of facts?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I have already stated an example of where the lower house has adopted a measure and it has been rejected, referring to the Payne bill.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I understood you to say that the commission rejected all the acts that were passed by the lower house.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I wish to say—

The SECRETARY OF WAR. But did you not say that?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Yes, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. How many acts passed by the last lower house were disapproved by the commission?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I have not the figures here.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Can you name one, except the Payne bill? Do you not know that the assembly had no jurisdiction over the Payne bill and that that was a matter for Congress and Congress alone? The assembly could not pass the Payne bill and could not reject the Payne bill. All that it did was to express its opinion about it.

Mr. SANTIAGO. That is our complaint, that the opinion of the assembly in the matter was not heeded.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Congress knew what they did, and it was Congress that did not follow their wishes. The commission had no legislative power over the subject and did not pass the bill and had no right to pass it. That was not a case of legislation by the assembly. Now, can you name a single act that was passed by the assembly at the last session disapproved by the commission?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I can not at this moment.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. All right.

(NOTE.—According to the records of the division of legislative records of the executive bureau, 19 bills were presented to the commission by the assembly. Sixteen were approved; one was postponed until the regular session; one, referring to non-Christian provinces and therefore not coming within the jurisdiction of the assembly, was tabled at that session and is now up for passage by the commission; and one, providing for the remission of land and cedula taxes under certain conditions, was refused passage.)

Mr. SANTIAGO. Lastly, I should beseech the Secretary of War for something that I think lies within his jurisdiction, as it is a matter affecting insular affairs. This is a question that affects us, the workingmen. It consists in this, that those laborers who have been convicted by the courts of justice and who are at present under sentence, as some of them are, and some whose cases have been appealed, be pardoned.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Of what were they convicted?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Some have been sentenced for threats and intimidation. Others, like Dr. Gomez, have been sentenced for disregarding an injunction of the court. I have already laid bare to you the condition of our laboring class, who are entirely defenseless. I have observed that the courts of justice have been able to issue injunctions against the sacred and inalienable right of free speech.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Have they done so?

Mr. SANTIAGO. It must be understood, Mr. Secretary, that there is an injunction issued against us having free speech. We are quite willing to abide by all of the provisions of the laws at present enacted. We are agreeable that we should be made to comply with all of the provisions of the law. We wish to carry on our war by peaceful methods, and the only arms that we have are precisely those that are granted by the law.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. To what arms do you refer?

Mr. SANTIAGO. Simply the expression of our desires. There is only one arm left to us, and that is freedom of speech. The trouble is that here, whenever a strike is declared, the courts enjoin us from free speech.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Will you send to the stenographer here for me a copy of one of those injunctions of which you complain, to be published with your speech?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I can furnish many.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I would like to have the one of which you make the most complaint. Send me the most objectionable one.

(Papers of Manila & Electric Railroad Light Co. v. Mariano et. al are attached and marked "Exhibit 1.")

Mr. SANTIAGO. I hope that the honorable Secretary of War will not overlook our last petition, which is in favor of our brothers, among whom is Dr. Gomez, who have been sentenced by the courts. Dr. Gomez has no crime charged against him other than having stood by the laboring men and having defended their rights. By doing this the Secretary will give us evidence by which we can prove to the people at large that we are not entirely defenseless.

Now, to conclude a poorly expressed speech, I wish to say very frankly to the Secretary of War that it is our firm conviction that so long as we do not have all the political and legislative powers in our hands it does not matter how good the administration may be, we can say, as did the honorable Manuel Quezon, that we shall never be happy until we have our complete independence.

Finally, we wish to say, knowing that the Secretary of War is a member of a Cabinet of the Government and he can convey to them our desires and petitions, which are the desires and petitions of all the people, it is the general conviction of all the Filipinos and of all men who love freedom and who believe that they were born free and should live free, that they shall never be happy, and that the benefits of liberty will never be theirs so long as they are considered as colonists of another government—as men inferior to others. We reject with all the strength of our souls every assumption and every intent on the part of any sovereignty on earth who should come here to implant, as sovereign in these islands, a colonial government, because we Filipinos are not agreeable to colonial government and we do not wish it.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Have you ever seen anything coming authoritatively from Congress or the President indicating that they were going to implant a colonial government here?

Mr. SANTIAGO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then are you not climbing a hill before you get to it?

Mr. SANTIAGO. But we see in practice certain proceedings that tend to colonization.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. What proceedings?

Mr. SANTIAGO. For example, the question of public employees. According to the Official Roster, which I have read, there are ₱12,000,000 paid out in salaries and wages. Two thousand six hundred and seventeen American employees receive ₱7,000,000 and 4,075 Filipinos receive ₱3,000,000. These data, taken in conjunction with the libel and sedition acts and other acts that in future we can foresee, and considering the position occupied by the Philippine Assembly—its lack of prestige—we believe, we fear, that the noble words of the unfortunate President McKinley, like the sacred and historic words of Philip II, will not be complied with in the Philippine Islands.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then you do not believe that the Americans are sincere when they say that they expect to have the administration here fit the Filipinos for self-government? You reject the sincerity of those statements on the part of the President of the United States, who really is the one who has been the principal exponent of those expressions?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I do not reject his sincerity and good faith and altruistic views.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. If he does not reject his good faith, who else in America has made any declaration that has any authority that would indicate that the Americans are taking steps to make this a colony? That is what you stated, and I would like to know what you base it on.

Mr. SANTIAGO. In the words of President McKinley, as reported in the volume of laws—

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I am not talking about what President McKinley said, but am asking if anybody has said anything coming from America which represents authoritatively the views of the American people, indicating that the Government there has in view the colonization of the Philippines.

Mr. SANTIAGO. Nobody.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then I think you have made an unfounded and reckless statement.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I have a foundation for my statement.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then, what is it?

Mr. SANTIAGO. I base my fears on the fact that the Filipinos do not need to be prepared for self-government; that they have already proved by the past that they are fit for self-government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Then, because President Taft has announced the policy of preparing the Filipinos for self-government and you think they are now prepared for self-government, you think that the continuation of that policy on the part of President Taft indicates a purpose to colonize the Philippines?

Mr. SANTIAGO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I know of no authoritative statement upon the part of anyone who has the right to speak on the part of the American people which would indicate any purpose on the part of the American people to hold the Philippines as colonies, and I have never heard any such views advanced there by anyone in authority. Furthermore, my opinion is that any such declaration would meet with a prompt protest from the American people, and it would not express their intentions.

Mr. SANTIAGO. The only thing I wish to say is that from this opinion—that we are not prepared for self-government and that preparation is necessary, and our own opinion that we are prepared—we derive the result that, should we fail to give expression to our views now, we can not but foresee a time, during the period of our preparation and before the time that the government of the Philippines is turned over to us, when certain social and political questions will arise affecting the people of the United States, or affecting the Filipino people, either in the form of legislation or otherwise, which will bring about certain procedures that will lead us to the condition of colonists. Now, to give an example. Let us suppose that a great deal of American capital came to the Philippine Islands, and that it should be invested largely in agriculture, industry, and manufacturing in the Philippine Islands. In such a case, should the American capitalist get the idea that if the government were turned over to the hands of the Filipinos the Philippine government would destroy all of the concessions and privileges which they enjoyed under the American administration, they would undoubtedly oppose any change in the government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Suppose they did: do you suppose that they are stronger than the good faith of the American people?

Mr. SANTIAGO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Well, I think you had better wait until the American people do something to indicate that they have the intent of colonizing the Philippines. I do not think it does any good, when declarations have been made by Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft, and have been apparently sanctioned by Congress, indicating a purpose to bring these people up to a standard of government whereby there will be devolved upon them the responsibilities of their own government, to sow the seeds of distrust in the American people and to impugn their good faith. Now, I have such good faith in the purpose of the American people that, holding the views that I do with regard to the Philippines, if I thought they were taking steps under the guise of doing what they are saying, really to accomplish something different from what they say they are doing, I would not be here.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I congratulate myself very highly in being informed of the sentiments of the Secretary of War, and I fully believe in his sincerity and in the sincerity of the American people. It is for this reason, that we have faith in the American people and in their sincerity, that we are trying to tell the truth to the high representative of the American Government. I believe sincerely in the good faith of the declarations mentioned by the Secretary of War, but, exercising the right that is ours to discuss questions freely, we wish to make known, once and for all, our sentiments, our intimate conviction, and our most earnest desire, which is that, as soon as possible, to-day, even, our people be given self-government—that our people be given their independence. We trust in this; it was for this reason that our popular chamber, whose members were duly elected by popular suffrage of the Filipino people, has not desired to importune the American people, because it has faith in that, having complied with the requirements exacted of us and demonstrated our capacity, those promises will be fulfilled. The assembly, however, has brought up the question of independence itself, and has delegated Mr. Quezon—

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I know that, and Mr. Quezon has made speeches to that effect, but I wish to know your views, and will present them to the President of the United States.

Mr. SANTIAGO. I thank you in advance for anything you may be able to do for us, and I will make known the views of the honorable Secretary of War to those whom I represent.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. It is now 10 minutes past 1. I have been here since 10 o'clock, but if anyone desires especially to be heard, of course I will wait. Unless some one desires to be heard we will bring the session to a close.

Mr. ARCADIO C. GINGRO. Honorable Secretary, I had desired to seize this opportunity to talk of the independence of the Filipino people, but as some of the gentlemen who have preceded me have spoken of that matter and have expressed my ideas very well, I will leave it to one side and treat of another matter.

There are several colleges in these islands, some of which were established by the government and some by the people—public and private schools. The corporation act in one of its provisions says that private colleges and schools can issue no diplomas unless they have been acknowledged and recognized by the government.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. What does he mean by "diplomas?"

Mr. FERGUSSON. He means degrees.

Mr. GINGRO. A great many of these private schools have not been recognized by the government up to the present time, and I do not think that the failure to recognize some of these schools on the part of the government was due to any lack of confidence in the persons who are directing them. The department of public instruction has refused to recognize some of these private schools for the reason that the schools occupy very small buildings and do not have the proper equipment and materials to carry on the regular course of instruction according to the requirements of the department of public instruction. Some of the private schools are unable to meet the requirements of the department of public instruction for the reason that they have not got the money. Take the case of the Colegio Filipino, of which I was the director. It has ceased to exist. Various Filipinos have been graduated by this college and given diplomas, and some of them occupy high positions in the government, and they are no less popular and no less worthy men than some of those who have come from the public schools. Before the corporation act was enacted this college did not have sufficient equipment, according to the present requirements, and yet the board of directors and the faculty generally were able to graduate a good many scholars, some of whom are attorneys and some members of the assembly. I ask that the rights of private schools be recognized and greater facilities be given them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Has this matter been taken up with the Governor General?

Mr. GINGRO. I think there was a bill introduced in the Philippine Assembly on this matter making the requirements easier.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Did it pass or did it fail?

Mr. GINGRO. If I remember rightly, it was approved by the assembly.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Was it disapproved by the Commission?

Mr. GINGRO. I believe the commission did reject the bill.

(The legislative records of the Philippine Commission show no such bill as having ever been presented to the commission or considered by that body.)

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him to take this matter up with the Governor General. If he does not get any remedy there, then bring it to my attention, and I will consider it. If I were to take up everything of that sort that had not been considered in the regular channels, I would simply disorganize all government here.

Mr. FERGUSSON. These regulations to which he refers were probably made by the secretary of public instruction.

Mr. GINGRO. We have tried to get some remedy.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. In what way?

Mr. REYES. The secretary of public instruction was asked to recognize the diplomas issued by private schools.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. I suppose that was denied.

Mr. GINGRO. The only answer I got from the secretary of public instruction was that the private schools did not have the proper housing and equipment for conducting the same.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Ask him if he took the matter up with the Governor General.

Mr. GINGRO. No, sir.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that is the very reason we have a Governor General. He is the head authority here, with power over these other things to

correct any wrong that exists. It is not contemplated that the War Department will take the initiative in matters of this sort. It will only act in cases where there is some wrong done and after all the remedies provided here have been exhausted. If the matter comes before me from the governor, I will look into it. This is not the proper time for me to do it.

Mr. LUCIANO DE LA ROSA. I shall try to be very brief on account of the lateness of the hour (1.20 p. m.). I think you must be hungry as well as the rest of them.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him that makes no difference. I am here to hear them.

Mr. DE LA ROSA. I shall speak very briefly. I shall speak of the present government—the workings of the administrative branch of the present government.

Since the organization of civil government in these islands there has been in operation a civil-service law. This law was enacted by the civil commission and regulates all public offices and positions and all Filipino and American employees are subject to its operations. They are required to pass a prior examination for any position in the government classified service. The act itself is good. Its object is to secure an efficient and honest service, but, unfortunately, in practice this law has been of fatal consequences for the Filipino employees. All these employees are subject to certain examinations. There are first, second, and third grade examinations. One of these examinations must be passed by any person who desires a position in the classified service of the government of the Philippine Islands. American and Filipino employees are subjected to the same grade of examination, and afterwards, at the request of the heads of offices or bureaus in the Philippine government, are placed in some position. In such case the American has an entrance salary that is very different from the entrance salary of the Filipino, although they have both passed the same examination; passed the same grade. There is but one register. Practically, there is no Filipino employee who has started in with the salary for the maximum entrance salary provided by the law. On the other hand, the American employee who has passed the first-grade examination, where the entrance salary is, for example, \$75 gold per month, will always get the full entrance salary of \$75 gold and his promotion is without limit. Now, take the case of the Filipino employee. Say that he has passed the English examination, second grade. In such case the entrance salary is not the maximum salary for the position. The most that he can get is ₱30 or ₱40 per month. This is one of the anomalies that the Filipino has noted in the present civil-service system. Among the Filipino employees there is but one sentiment, one clamor, one cry—and this applies not only to the insular employees, but also to the provincial and municipal employees. I have not the statistical data at hand at present, but I hereby bind myself to furnish same to the Secretary of War.

The SECRETARY OF WAR. Tell him to furnish it so it can come in with this report.¹

Is there anybody else who wishes to speak? If not, this session is now adjourned.

(Adjournment was taken at 1 o'clock and 27 minutes p. m.)

EXHIBIT 1.

[Translation.]

United States of America, Philippine Islands. In the court of first instance of the city of Manila. Manila Electric Railroad & Light Co., plaintiff, v. Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquin Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Calvez, Mariano Paguia, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, J. Ernesto del Rosario, defendants. Civil, No. 7154.

COMPLAINT.

Plaintiff alleges:

I. That plaintiff is a foreign corporation, duly licensed to transact business in the Philippine Islands, and having its domicile in said islands in the city of

¹ Data referred to was not furnished.

Manila; that the plaintiff has been duly granted, and now enjoys, a franchise from the Government of the Philippine Islands for the operation of an electric street railway system in the city of Manila, and is now, and during all the times herein mentioned has been, engaged in the operation of said electric street railway system as a public carrier of passengers for hire.

II. That the defendants and each of them, acting in accordance with a common purpose among themselves, have, by means of printed and written letters, circulars, handbills, posters, and newspaper publications, and by means of public and private speeches, and in other ways, urged and requested many individuals and the public generally to boycott the aforesaid electric street-railway system of the plaintiff and to desist and abstain from traveling as passengers for hire on the said street-railway system; that the defendants and each of them have threatened to continue and unless restrained by the order of this honorable court will continue to urge and request individuals and the general public to boycott said electric street-railway system and to desist and abstain from becoming passengers for hire thereon; that plaintiff is informed and believes and therefore alleges that the continuance by defendants of the conduct hereinbefore recited will induce and persuade many persons to boycott said electric street-railway system and to desist and abstain from becoming passengers for hire thereon and will thereby cause great and irreparable damage to the plaintiff.

III. That the defendants and others conspiring with them have sought and are seeking to induce the plaintiff to employ persons whom the plaintiff is unwilling to employ and to adopt methods and procedure in the conduct of its business which plaintiff is unwilling to adopt and have sought and are seeking to impose their will and judgment upon the plaintiff in the conduct of its own affairs, in substitution for the will and judgment of plaintiff's officers and authorized representatives; that the defendants are not engaged in business as public carriers of passengers, and, in their aforesaid past conduct and intended conduct have no other purpose than to compel the plaintiff to accede to their wishes, as aforesaid, and to annoy, harass, and damage the plaintiff in revenge for the plaintiff's refusal to accede to such requests; that the information upon which this allegation is made consists of the statements which have been written and published by the defendants; and that, while the plaintiff has received information from various sources that the real motive which has actuated many, of not all, of the defendants in their conduct is the desire to secure political preferment and notoriety, the ostensible reasons for the said acts on the part of the defendants are those heretofore set forth in this paragraph.

IV. That none of the defendants, nor all of them together, have property sufficient to reimburse the plaintiff for the loss and damages which will naturally and probably follow from the aforesaid intended conduct of the defendants; that such loss and damages can not be definitely proven as to amount, and that the commission or continuance during the pendency of this action, of the acts hereinbefore complained of will probably work an injustice to the plaintiff.

Wherefore plaintiff prays:

1. That a preliminary injunction be issued by this honorable court, requiring the defendants, and each of them, to refrain from urging, requesting, or advising any person, or the public generally, whether by word of mouth or by written or printed communication, or otherwise, to boycott the electric street-railway system of the plaintiff, or to desist or refrain from becoming passengers for hire on such street-railway system.

2. That, in accordance with the provisions of act No. 1427, this complaint be received by the court in English alone, and that the plaintiff be granted a period of 10 days within which to serve and file a translation thereof into Spanish.

3. That, after a trial herein, the preliminary injunction to be granted in accordance with paragraph 1 of this prayer be made perpetual.

4. That the plaintiff recover the costs of this action of the defendants, and have such other and further relief as may be just and proper.

BRUCE & LAWRENCE,
Attorneys for plaintiff,
No. 15 Plaza Moraga, Manila.

MANILA, P. I., May 29, 1909.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, *City of Manila, ss.:*

C. B. Graves, being first duly sworn, deposes and says: That affiant is the second vice president and general manager of the plaintiff in the above-entitled cause; that affiant has read the foregoing complaint, and is conversant with the facts

therein recited; that the allegations of the foregoing complaint are true, except as to those made upon information and belief, and as to such the affiant believes them to be true.

C. B. GRAVES.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, in Manila, P. I., this 29th day of May, 1909, the said C. B. Graves exhibiting to me his personal cedula No. F-1539001, issued at Manila, P. I., on the 26th day of May, 1909.

[SEAL]

W. H. LAWRENCE,
Notary Public.

My commission expires December 31, 1910.

[Translation.]

United States of America, Philippine Islands. In the Court of First Instance of the city of Manila. Manila Electric Railroad & Light Co., complainant, *v.* Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquín Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Paguía, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, J. Ernesto del Rosario, defendants. Civil, No. 7154. Summons.

To the defendants above mentioned:

By these presents you are required to appear at the office of the clerk of this Court of First Instance of the city of Manila within the twenty (20) days after the service of this summons if it shall have been served in this city, and if not, within forty (40) days, to answer the complaint which is attached to this, in the period fixed by the regulations of this court; And, if within the time fixed, you shall fail to appear, the plaintiff shall have the right to ask that judgment by default be rendered, and may claim from this court the remedy which it asks in its complaint.

Given by the Hon. A. S. Crossfield, judge of this Court of First Instance, on the 29th day of May, 1909.

J. McMICKING,
Clerk of the Court of First Instance of the City of Manila.

Copy.

J. McMICKING,
Sheriff of Manila.

[Translation.]

United States of America, Philippine Islands. In the Court of First Instance of the city of Manila. Manila Electric Railroad & Light Co., plaintiff, *v.* Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquín Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Paguía, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, J. Ernesto del Rosario, defendants. Civil, No. 7154.

Greetings:

The plaintiff having entered a complaint before this Court of First Instance of Manila in the case above entitled, against the defendants, Patricio Mariano, Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar Tomás Santiago, Joaquín Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Paguía, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, and J. Ernesto del Rosario, who are mentioned above, and having likewise prayed for the issue of a preliminary injunction against said defendants, so that each of them shall refrain from continuing to perform certain acts mentioned in the complaint and more particularly detailed further on in this mandate; having viewed said complaint, the oath as to its truthfulness taken by the complainant, through its second vice president and general manager, C. B. Graves, and being satisfied that this is a case in which an injunction should be issued on account of the alleged motives being sufficient, and the complainant having given the bond required by the law, to the amount of five thousand (₱5,000) pesos, Philippine currency.

By these presents, it is ordered by the undersigned, judge of this Court of First Instance, that until further orders you, the said Patricio Mariano,

Ligorio Gomez, Pio Santa Ana, José Turiano, Perfecto del Rosario, Arcadio Ginko, Antonio Montenegro, Gregorio Clemente, Sotero Morales, Timoteo Ansures, Diosdado Alvarez, Pio del Pilar, Tomás Santiago, Joaquin Balmori, Pedro Gil, Eugenio Galvez, Mariano Pagufa, Aurelio Rusca, Aurelio Tolentino, and J. Ernesto del Rosario, and all of your lawyers, attorneys, agents, and the rest of the persons who work in your behalf, shall refrain from soliciting, praying, or advising any person at all, or the public in general, whether verbally or by means of printed communication or by writing, or in any other manner whatever, to take part in a boycott against the electric tramway system of the plaintiff or to refrain or abstain from becoming passengers on said electrical tramway system.

Given in Manila, on May 29, 1909.

A. S. CROSSFIELD,
Judge of First Instance of Manila.

APPENDIX C.

[Translation.]

LETTER OF THE NACIONALISTA PARTY.

MANILA, *September 1, 1910.*

MR. SECRETARY: The Nacionalista Party believing that it interprets the feelings of all its members honors itself in directing to you this statement of facts to call your attention to the true general aspiration of the people of these islands, whose interests, well-being, and happiness the United States has assumed control of in establishing its sovereignty over the Philippine Archipelago.

The Nacionalista Party was organized in the year 1906, and promptly obtained popular favor. It has committees established in almost all the towns of the archipelago, and represents approximately 81 per cent of the popular suffrage. At present of 81 members of the Philippine Assembly it has 66, and of 31 provincial governors it has 23.

This party aspires to the immediate independence of the country, because it believes the Filipino people endowed with those conditions necessary to establish and maintain a stable government of law and order, as has been proven by the existence of what was the government of the Filipino republic in the years 1898 and 1899. The period of experiment which has passed during the American sovereignty is ample to demonstrate that the Filipinos know how to make use of civil and political liberty, and to comply with and to force compliance with the laws, to avoid disorders, prevent abuses, and live in accordance with the practices of civilized communities. It is for this reason that we believe that the transfer of political control to the Filipinos can not signify any sort of disturbance within the country, or danger to the life, property, or liberty of residents therein, but on the contrary the maintenance and preservation of the essential principles for which are established governments, law and order, and guaranties of liberty and justice for everybody.

The independence of the Philippine people will be a due satisfaction for the efforts and sacrifices made by Filipinos in acquiring cultivation and western civilization, and a compliance with the sacred principles of equality and liberty of the people consecrated in the Declaration of Independence of the United States of North America.

The indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands tends to produce racial antagonism, misunderstanding, and reciprocal jealousy among a people whose interests in the extreme Orient should be allied, makes difficult the rapid development of the national aptitude of the Filipinos in the management and defense of their own interests, and sacrifices the future of a young people desirous of following the examples of the oldest in their fruitful work for the good of progress and of the life of humanity.

In this brief exposition in which we will review the accomplishments and facts which have revealed the aptitude of Filipinos for independent self-government and will consider some questions which affect the problem of the relations between America and the Philippine Islands, it will be necessary to separate all the matters into various chapters with the following headings:

I. Capacity demonstrated by the Filipinos in the organization of a popular self-government.

II. The capacity of the Filipinos demonstrated during American control.

III. Alleged obstacles to independence: their consideration.

IV. Obstacles to the indefinite retention of the Philippine Islands preparatory to their independence.

I.

CAPACITY DEMONSTRATED BY THE FILIPINOS IN THE ORGANIZATION OF A POPULAR SELF-GOVERNMENT.

It is important to set forth some historic facts which bear on the aspiration of the Filipinos for independence, and makes patent the aptitudes of the people in sustaining a popular independent government.

The Philippine Islands were under the domination of Spain from the 19th of May, 1571, when Legaspi took possession of them in the name of Philip II. The laws approved in the beginning for the administration of insular affairs were beneficent and protective in an extreme degree for the natives of the colonies. The Spanish people in the greatness of its then power felt itself impelled to carry the light of Christianity and of civilization to the inhabitants of the darkest places of the earth. It believed, honestly, that it was called by Providence to govern foreign people, even by means of violence, with the object of making them happy, bringing to them knowledge of the true God and to administer their interests paternally. The Philippine Islands were governed in accordance with this altruistic sentiment, and the Filipinos were effectively converted to Christianity and educated in what progress and European civilization means.

The Filipinos at the end of 300 years constituted a homogeneous people, with national aspirations, political ideals, and love of progress and liberty. Nevertheless, the paternal régime continued as at the beginning, based on the false idea that the people was a child whose will and opinion should not be taken into account to determine matters bearing on its own interest. The people understood on the other side that the colonial régime in force did not favor its rapid progress to place it at the height of the civilized people of the earth. The doctrines relating to the right of man and citizenship had advanced in the conscience of the Filipinos, and as such rights were not recognized under the colonial régime, they were consequently demanded. The people by public subscription and in other ways paid for the sending of various Filipinos to Madrid to beg necessary reforms in the insular administration. The idea that the Filipino people should have the same political and civil rights as the Spanish people and some voice in the administration of its own affairs was the limit of the campaign intrusted to the Filipinos sent to Spain.

The denial by the Spanish authorities of the petitions of the people began to produce discontent among the Filipinos, and the idea that they were an object of political abuse was readily accepted. The distance from the place where this colony was governed, the intrigues of the insular officials to create the belief in the governing authority of the metropolis of the inadvisability of reforming the policy and insular administration, and the suspicions of which those Filipinos who begged reforms were the object were so many causes to prevent an appreciation of the justice of the popular demands and contributed to maintain and increase the general discontent and provoked hatred toward that régime.

The hatred of what was considered political tyranny culminated in 1896, when Andrés Bonifacio, a man coming from the working mass, started an insurrectional movement against Spain which acquired great proportion, and ended in the so-called treaty of "Biak-na-bato." In virtue of this treaty the leaders of the insurrection promised to accept the program of reforms which, as they were made to understand, would be brought about if they laid down their arms, but as nothing was subsequently done, the insurrection continued, and on the opening of the Spanish-American war in April, 1898, the Filipinos believed there had arrived an opportunity of fighting determinedly for independence, expecting to count for this purpose on American aid. The American naval forces destroyed the Spanish fleet, occupied the Bay of Manila and the port of Cavite, while the Filipinos under the orders of Aguinaldo organized an army and took all the provinces of the archipelago from the power of the Spanish. This ended practically the Spanish sovereignty in the islands.

TYPE OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

There was immediately organized a Philippine government in all the occupied places. The government was dictatorial at the beginning, but this condition only lasted a month, or, that is, the absolutely necessary time that Aguinaldo employed in exciting the spirits of his compatriots in favor of Philippine independence. During this time Aguinaldo, "understanding that the first duty of all government is to interpret faithfully the popular aspirations," and understanding further "the present necessity of establishing in each town a solid and robust organization, the firmest bulwark of public security and only measure of assuring union and discipline indispensable for the implantation of the republic, or, that is, the government of the people for the people," published a decree giving instructions to the people that were liberated from the Spanish control to change the form of government in their respective localities.

The before-mentioned instructions outlined a type of popular government simple and suitable to those moments of transition. It was provided that "so soon as the town is free from the Spanish domination those residents most distinguished by their learning, social position, and honorable conduct, as well in the center of the towns as in the barrios, should unite in a general meeting and elect by majority votes a chief of the municipality and three delegates, one of police and interior order, another of justice and civil register, and another of taxes and property, and a chief or head of each barrio," all of whom will form the popular junta. "The chiefs of the municipalities after having obtained the views of their respective juntas will unite and will elect by majority votes a chief of the province and three councilors for the three departments above named." These officials with the chief of the provincial capital will form the provincial council.

There was no difficulty in the application of these instructions, and the towns and provinces which were under the jurisdiction of the dictatorial government worked in conformity therewith. On June 23, 1898, Aguinaldo resigned his dictatorial powers in the revolutionary government, "whose object is to struggle for the independence of the Philippine Islands until the free nations, including Spain, recognized it expressly, and to prepare the country for the implantation of a true republic." The evident object of Aguinaldo in resigning his dictatorship was to give promptly to the people guaranties of a civil government as most conformable to the character of the new institutions implanted. The revolutionary government preserved the popular form of provincial and municipal governments under conditions heretofore stated. The central government was organized with the president as chief of the government and executive power, assisted by four department secretaries, namely, foreign relations, marine and commerce; war and public works; police and interior order; treasury, agriculture, and industry, with a revolutionary congress as the legislative power, whose members were to be elected in the same manner prescribed for the election of the provincial officials. To this revolutionary congress was given true independence, since "the president of the government may not prevent in any way whatever a reunion of congress, nor interfere with sessions thereof," and with a commission of the congress presided over by the vice-president, and assisted by one of the secretaries of the same, as supreme court to take cognizance on appeal of criminal matters passed on by the provincial councils. The popular juntas and provincial councils were at the same time competent tribunals to take cognizance of civil and criminal matters, with their respective jurisdictions well defined.

It is important to take note of these details to understand properly what was the object of the government that the Filipinos by themselves, without aid or council of anyone, proposed to adopt, having in mind their conditions and political views. The fact that the Filipinos had refused to reestablish the old institutions, and that they had created others—new ones—made it clear that the Filipinos not only had their own political ideas, but likewise that their ideals are the most advanced that the progress of time has shown. The revolutionary government was, as has been seen, in its essence popular. In all the governmental divisions the people were represented by officials elected by them. This is especially shown if we refer to the organization of the judicial power which was from top to bottom officered by elected officials.

THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED.

The authority of the revolutionary government was extended in a few months to all the islands composing the archipelago by express recognition of their inhabitants. It was questioned in no part of Luzon, of the Visayas, or of Mindanao after the people were delivered from the Spaniards. The chiefs of the various non-Christian tribes of the north of Luzon who never submitted to Spanish domination sent messages acknowledging the government then established. Prominent Mohammedan chiefs of the island of Mindanao gave their spontaneous and sincere adhesion. The different grades of civilization, the accidental differences of religion, habits, and dialects, which are always exaggerated by those who are interested in presenting the Filipinos as incapable of instituting an independent self-government, were no obstacle to make difficult in any way the establishment of said Philippine government or the normal exercise of its authority over all the islands. The Filipinos on displaying their national unity under that government consecrated likewise its legitimacy under

the principle that the power of the government comes from the consent of the governed.

THE PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION.

In September, 1898, the revolutionary congress opened its sessions. All the provinces of the archipelago were represented therein. After the work of organization, congress devoted all its time to drawing up a constitution. On the 20th of January, 1899, the Filipino constitution was approved and placed in force immediately thereafter.

If the spirit and letter of this constitution be considered, it will be seen that its provisions contain all the principles of law, order, and liberty contained in the modern constitutions of the world.

Title I defines the Philippine republic, and declares that the sovereignty resides exclusively in the people. Title II establishes the form of popular representative government, alternative and responsible, with three distinct and independent powers. Title III recognizes the separation of the church and state and the liberty and equality of all religions. Title IV contains the declaration of individual rights to life, property, freedom of thought, reunion and association, foundation of schools, and petition to authorities, the exercise of profession or industry, and prescribes the guaranties of these rights. Authorizes the same rights and guaranties to foreigners and permits the latter to acquire Philippine citizenship by naturalization papers and residence during two years in any territory of the republic. Establishes obligatory military service, popular gratuitous and obligatory instruction, civil trial for all crimes; prohibits institution of primogeniture and the entailing of property, the accepting and authorizing decorations and titles of nobility. Title V establishes a representative assembly in which resides the legislative power. Representatives will be such of the nation, and may not receive any imperative mandate from their electors. They may not be molested for their opinions or votes nor imprisoned without authority of the assembly. The assembly may try the highest officials of the government for crimes against the state. Title VI constitutes a permanent commission of the assembly during the closing of the sessions to decide on certain specific matters. Title VII declares the president of the republic chief of the executive power which he exercises through his secretaries. Questions relating to private interests of the municipalities correspond to the provincial and popular assemblies and to the central administration on the base of the amplest decentralization and economy. Title VIII provides the election of the president of the republic by means of a constituent assembly by absolute majority of votes. The term is for four years with reelection. The president may initiate laws and is obliged to promulgate those which have been approved. Title IX provides for a council of government composed of a president and seven secretaries, who are collectively responsible before the assembly for the general policy of the nation, and individually for their personal acts. Title X declares that the judicial power rests in the supreme court and other tribunals provided by law, empowering any citizen to bring action against the individuals of the judicial power for crimes committed in the exercise of their offices. Title XI provides that the organization and powers of the provincial and popular assemblies will be fixed by law under certain conditions. Title XII regulates the administration of state. Title XIII provides methods and form of amending the constitution. Title XIV provides that all officials must swear to support the constitution. Adopts as official language the Spanish. Temporarily places in force the Spanish laws and regulations as to the exercise of civil rights of citizens.

There can be no doubt that this constitution not only represents the grade of cultivation of men that drew it up, but that it shows likewise that the Filipinos considered a system of popular government as that most suited to their conditions and the experiences of the country. They did not think of copying and imitating the institutions with which they were most familiar. On the contrary, they constructed a system radically contrary to that which had been in force here for several centuries. In none of the lines of this constitution is observed a tendency to maintain any sort of oligarchy, but in all of them are imprinted democratic principles more accentuated, perhaps, than in many of the republican constitutions of the day. The Philippine constitution, as it was drawn up by representatives of the revolutionary congress, portrays with fidelity more than any other act of the Filipinos of that time the aspirations and political ideals of the people of the islands.

CONDITIONS WHICH PREVAILED UNDER THAT GOVERNMENT.

In the conditions of order, tranquility, and progress which prevailed under the authority of the revolutionary government, there was clearly displayed the good dispositions of these people for the direction of their own affairs. A decree of Aguinaldo abolishing all gambling privileges and cockfighting taxes, "because they tend only to ruin the people, with slight advantage to the public treasury," was sufficient that the people should give up completely their ancient favorite practices. Crimes and ordinary misdemeanors diminished notably in number. There were enjoyed as in no time entire security, well-being, and content. The parties of bandits which from the most remote periods were accustomed to disturb the order voluntarily disappeared. The spirit of cooperation of the people in the measures of the government for good order and progress was evidenced by the liberal treatment of the Spanish prisoners, the respect to foreigners, the attendance at school, and the return to customary field work in those places in which the revolutionary condition had ceased.

The government on its part, without neglecting provisions for war, consecrated itself to organize the most important and urgent public services. The corps of civil physicians to watch over sanitary conditions, hygiene, and urbanization of the provinces was established. There was created a civil register in all the municipalities. The chiefs of the municipalities were authorized to act provisionally as notaries in the authentication of documents and extrajudicial acts. There was founded a university to teach law, medicine, pharmacy, and notaryship, and the institution "Burgos" for studies of the general high-school class, and there was ordered the reopening of all the municipal primary schools. All the provincial councils and popular juntas were ordered to proceed to the repair and preservation of roads, bridges, and public buildings, because "the ways of communication were one of the causes which contribute to material and moral progress of every country." There was created an institute for vaccination to prepare and distribute vaccine to all the provinces. There was established a bureau of census and statistics. There was organized a corps of communications to regulate the sending of correspondence and telegraphic dispatches between the towns and provinces.

The government not only organized practically all the public services which existed under the Spanish government, but likewise adopted various provisions which showed its good desire to watch over the general interest, prohibiting the sale of copra which is not thoroughly dry "as prejudicial to the credit of commercial articles," and the slaughtering of carabao useful for agricultural purposes, "because they might be better used in the fields."

THE OPENING OF HOSTILITIES.

On the 23d of January, 1899, in accordance with the constitution, proclamation of the Philippine Republic was made in the town of Malolos; Aguinaldo was proclaimed chief of said republic. But shortly thereafter, that is, on the 4th of February, occurred the opening of hostilities between Americans and Filipinos. This outbreak was a surprise for the Filipinos. But the moral union of the people and Philippine Government was displayed during the new condition of war. Aguinaldo published a proclamation ordering the war and his order was obeyed in all sections. The American forces encountered open resistance wherever they were, and had to forcibly capture or force the Philippine forces to surrender by superiority of resources. The spirit of resistance terminated toward the end of 1901 and the Filipinos, through the efforts made by some of their compatriots, agreed to recognize American domination.

II.

THE CAPACITY OF THE FILIPINOS SHOWN DURING AMERICAN CONTROL.

Nothing can indicate better the capacity of the people for independent government than the spontaneous adhesion that the same people is giving to the essential democratic principles which inspire the present government and its cooperation in the many steps that have been taken for the betterment of the intellectual, moral, social, and material conditions of the people.

If this people should be lacking in those conditions necessary for progress, doubtless any effort in that direction undertaken by the American Government would have been fruitless. It would not be true to affirm that all the progress

realized in the Philippine Islands has been due to the energy and talent of the government, since without the cooperation of the people, without the practical sense indispensable to appreciate good, no beneficent work would have been carried successfully to a termination.

A résumé setting forth the manner in which the Filipinos have conducted themselves in the exercise of the powers conferred on them under the present government will show us that the conception and application by the Filipinos of a popular government are entirely satisfactory.

PUBLIC ORDER.

The satisfactory state of public order in the islands has been brought about with the aid and efforts of the Philippine people. The work of the American Army doubtless has been a factor in finishing the war and establishing peace, but the maintenance of order and tranquility after the period of the war is due to the determined attitude and to the decided interest of the people to pursue in peace the struggle for their political ideals and to consecrate themselves to the cause of progress and prosperity destroyed by six years of disturbance. This attitude reveals nothing but good, practical sense—the good disposition which this people has of considering existing conditions in the determination of its national convenience.

Public order is maintained in the municipalities and provinces by Filipino officials and agents with the exception of some chiefs and officers of the constabulary. The agricultural work and the operations of commerce are effected with the greatest tranquility and security for all. The violations of order and the local disturbances occasioned by misdemeanors are not numerous, so that the Philippine people may sustain in this matter a favorable comparison with any of the most civilized countries of the world. The good disposition of the people toward the maintenance of order and the discipline of the law is evidenced most pathetically, taking into consideration that there has passed but a short time since the period of war with the subsequent disturbance and that there has not disappeared from the mind of the people many of the motives and prejudices which originated in the war and provoked from time to time discontent with the present situation.

There is no little argument in favor of the orderly and disciplined spirit of the people in the fact that the exercise and practice of civil and political rights completely new to the inhabitants of these islands, such as liberty of religion and direct suffrage, have not occasioned long and bloody struggles which they have produced in nations of longer history than ours.

THE LOVE FOR AND PROGRESS IN PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

The great interest which the Filipino people has shown for education is quite evident. One of the causes frequently cited and which contributed to the discontent of the Filipinos with the Spanish régime was the monopoly exercised in instruction by the religious corporations, which showed no great desire for the instruction of the masses of the country. In reality, during that régime primary or elemental instruction received little attention. The instruction in the secondary grade and in superior and university grades was deficient and sectarian. But in the midst of such a vicious system the zeal for study and the interest of families in sending their children to the schools and colleges established in the Philippines or to Europe to acquire a more extended education were very marked. Poor families imposed on themselves all classes of sacrifices that their children might study. In many cases they begged of the rich families or their friends that they should accept their children in domestic service so as to permit them some free hours to dedicate themselves to study.

The general movement noted under American control in favor of education is not, therefore, new in the history of this country. The Filipino people appreciates the advantages given by education and information of life. It recognizes its necessity and has a sympathy and aptitude for all sorts of education. This explains the fact that the number of children attending the schools has crowded in many cases the capacity of said schools and that at times there was necessity of denying admission to pupils. This explains likewise the fact that there has not been lacking pupils in the industrial schools or others of special branches of education little or not at all known in past periods. It is a source of congratulation to be able to say that in all experiments which have taken place to prove the love of instruction or the measure of the intellectual capacity of the people the proof in our favor has been decisive.

Two years ago effort was made to open courses for nurses. This was an instruction completely unknown in the country. The education given to woman in former times—not to be for a long time absent from home, not to know or to comply with other obligations than those purely domestic, not to require of her severe and difficult labor which was considered proper only for men—appeared to give little hope for a successful outcome of the new experiment, but, in view of the results obtained, there can be no doubt that the effort has been a complete success, which speaks in favor of the aptitude of the Filipino woman for the evolution of modern civilized life. The constant increase of schools and of the attendance of children of the school age since American occupation are phenomena generally observed in all the Provinces. The following statement of attendance taken from the last report of the secretary of public instruction proves this assertion:

Year.	Public schools.	Monthly attendance.
1903.....	2,000	150,000
1904.....	2,233	227,600
1905.....	2,727	311,843
1906.....	3,166	375,534
1907.....	3,436	335,106
1908.....	3,701	359,738
1909.....	4,194	437,735

There has been observed on many occasions a tendency to suppress or postpone the payment of land tax by the municipal or provincial governments, while at the same time they have tried to continue in force that part of said tax destined to the schools, and when this has not been successful the consideration of closing the schools in case of failure to pay said tax has exercised such influence in the provincial and municipal governments that there have continued in full effect the provisions of the law.

In view of the foregoing demonstration, there can be no fear that the Filipino people will maintain itself in ignorance. A people that shows the live interest in being instructed such as the Filipino has shown before and now can not constitute a danger for a regular and orderly maintenance of a popular government.

THE EXERCISE OF SUFFRAGE.

One of the fears of those who considered the Filipinos incapable of popular self government is that they would not have sufficient discretion to elect to those offices which must be filled by election the best people in the community. The exercise of suffrage by the Filipinos has shown, nevertheless, that they know how to make good use of this privilege. Up to the present the electors have been able to confide public offices to persons who could duly perform their duties as officials. In the majority of cases they are persons of intelligence and responsibility who have known how to justify their election and bring about during their official terms the betterment of their respective towns. An excellent proof of this fact is that with rare exceptions there has not been suspended or deprived of his office any provincial elective Filipino official since American domination. Nor is the percentage of municipal officials suspended or deprived of office greater than that in independent nations, especially if it is considered that not all the suspensions or deprivations of office are the result of grave faults which affect the morality and capacity of certain officials.

The good judgment and discretion of the electoral body are so manifest that the results of an election have given origin to few well-founded protests. The logical and immediate inference that we may draw from this is that there exists within the electoral body an intelligent public opinion which influences and decides emphatically the results of the elections.

An indication likewise highly favorable to the Filipino people in relation to the exercise of the suffrage is that all the elections have taken place with the greatest order in spite, many times, of the intensity of the struggle between candidates of different parties prior to the election. It is not less patent and indicative of fine discretion in the people the fact that after the elections, or after a protested election has been decided, the defeated minority shows itself definitely resigned and makes no effort to injure or obstruct the administration

of the official elected, as happens in other countries that are more accustomed to the use of the suffrage. We do not wish absolutely to affirm that there are no exceptions to this rule, but that this is the rule confirms our statement that the Filipino people is capable of managing a popular government supported by the influence of a sane and intelligent public opinion. This influence shows itself likewise in the cases of those officials who in power have not complied with their promises and duties and who later, on working for their reelection, fail in their object even though men of education, money, or influence.

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL PARTIES AND THEIR RELATIONS.

The organization of political parties under democratic régime is absolutely necessary. Political parties are organized in the Philippines, and from the beginning there was markedly displayed the two tendencies which existed in all countries in which prevailed individual liberty, namely, the conservative and the radical. Before the proclamation of the so-called organic law of July 1, 1902, there was organized the so-called Federal Party, which formulated the principle of final annexation of the islands to the United States. Without affirming or discussing whether its directors and founders sincerely sustained this principle or not and whether it was changed later, the fact is they found in this formula, or rather with that of peace, a means of weakening the revolution. Forced thereto by circumstances, the people accepted peace under the American sovereignty. The Federal Party was the only party during that time, since the partisans of immediate independence of the country, in spite of having attempted to organize a party, did not obtain the consent of the American Government which qualified them as upholders and sympathizers of the revolution in arms. Later, when the organic law was promulgated, different parties arose, all of which aspired to final independence for the country. The Federal Party in 1904, on seeing that the idea of annexation found no popular support, changed its original program and set forth in its place the obtaining of independence by gradual steps and successive increase of Filipino control in the administration of the Government. Without weakening their views, strong in their former desires, the partisans of immediate independence formed at the end of the year 1906 a great organization entitled "Partido Nacionalista," which has extended rapidly throughout the country, because it responded better to its political aspirations. The principal program of this party is, as has been said, the immediate independence of the country:

In this manner were properly defined the two tendencies of Filipino opinion. The principals of the Federal Party, now called "Partido Progresista," represent the conservative tendency of man, and the "Partido Nacionalista" the radical tendency.

But even the conservative tendency can not now support in any manner the permanent maintenance of the present relations with North America, nor the radical tendency conceive of the employment of violent measures to bring about the change of sovereignty. One, as well as the other, believes that independence must be given to the people of the islands, and differ only in the idea as to how and when independence must be obtained.

In the relations between the men of both parties there is noted nearly always a close alliance and unity of opinion in considering matters relating to the best manner of administering local affairs under this provisional government, and although, as is natural in time of elections, there are uttered bitter censures and recriminations, the harmony which is maintained and the courtesy with which they treat each other in the course of their relations are an indication that they consider the public interest completely separate from the selfishness of faction or of party. Crises have occurred in the relations of both parties within the assembly and out of it, and likewise in the relations of both parties prominent men in the same party, but such crises not having been frequent were altogether passing, ending in the greatest cordiality and respect. It is certainly flattering to the pride of the Filipinos to cite that fact which shows better than any other the practice of tolerance and of mutual consideration between both parties which occurred in the assembly during the discussion of the Payne bill. The Progresista minority unanimously declined to assist at the sessions of the assembly, believing itself offended at the treatment given it by the majority, but at the end of a week, through mutual explanations, the affair remained satisfactorily adjusted to both sides.

PROVINCES AND MUNICIPALITIES.

The administration of the Provinces and municipalities can not but merit a favorable opinion regarding the aptitude of the Filipinos for the exercise of the powers intrusted to them. In reality, considering the provincial administration, the functions authorized to Filipinos suffer such limitations that it is frequently found that the local initiatives are crippled by the delays of a centralized régime. But in spite of this, to the energy, skill, and patriotism of the provincial governments are due the preservation of order, the progress of public instruction, the betterment of the highways, bridges, and public buildings, the introduction of sanitary and hygienic measures, and the assurance of improvements of all sorts for the well-being of the community in their respective Provinces.

The municipal officials, on their part overcoming many difficulties, of which the greatest is the lack of funds, show each day a noble emulation in bettering the public service in their respective localities. If the interest displayed by the municipal officials in the construction of public edifices, particularly schools and markets, in the boring of artesian wells for public sanitation, and the improvement of neighborhood roads, in the prosecution and punishment of evil doers, and in the ornamentation and sanitation of public places, be considered, there is reason for saying that everywhere they understand the true public interest, and the officials understand at the same time that they are servants of the public well-being. The municipalities which can count on sufficient funds have realized all classes of public works that are monuments of progress and of efficiency in the public service. The majority of the municipalities naturally can not display such monuments because of lack of resources, but all can show that they have done something for the towns and for the people, who see with deep feeling the excellent use they are making of the money provided by the payment of their taxes.

The interest with which in some places are attended the popular conferences in which instruction is given to the people of its rights and civic duties, is an argument against what is affirmed by some writers of "Caciquismo" of the local officials, which they supposed very general in the towns of the Philippine Islands. In these conferences the first who take part are the very local functionaries and young people of the schools. The Philippine Assembly initiated a law for this purpose, which is producing excellent results.

PHILIPPINE MAGISTRATES AND JUDGES.

There is a very general belief against the methods of administration of justice by oriental people, especially when the parties in litigation are not natives, but of other races. The organization of tribunals of justice in the Philippine Islands, and the participation which has been given to the Filipinos in it, have shown the inconsistency of such belief. The Filipino magistrates and judges, whether they have sat together with Americans, or alone, can not be accused of partiality or bad faith. Some decisions of Filipino judges have given origin to suspicions among the Filipinos themselves that they have been dictated to under executive influence; it has not been possible to confirm these suspicions, and they only have their foundation in what is generally considered a defect in the present system, which confers on the executive the power to name and remove said judges. No American or foreigner has been able to formulate a just accusation against any Filipino judge for lack of competence or integrity in his decisions and methods, and this proves that the law in Filipino hands offers equal protection to everyone, native or foreigner, poor or rich. The reputation of the Filipino judge has always been very high, and this has been noted by some Americans who have familiarized themselves with the affairs of the Philippine judiciary. There is not seen then any reason to believe that if the government were Filipino, the native judges would not conduct themselves in the manner in which they now perform their duties in hearing and deciding the questions which are presented before the judges without fear or favor.

FILIPINO EMPLOYEES SUBJECT TO THE CIVIL SERVICE.

The efficiency shown by Filipinos subject to civil service in public office which they occupy justifies the belief heretofore expressed publicly before a body of the Representatives of Congress in 1905, that there were sufficient persons in the country to serve the public interests in the different branches of

administration. This statement was understood apparently erroneously as an enunciation of the incorrect idea that the Filipino had of popular government, believing that there was necessary a governing class and another class obedient and submissive. But the idea which it was intended properly to express was that the administration of the public interests might be well served by a sufficient number of persons who possess the necessary intelligence and zeal for the fulfilling of their public duties. This belief has been completely demonstrated by facts.

Speaking of Filipino employees, the executive secretary, in his annual report for 1905, made the following statement: "The Filipinos have demonstrated marked capacity in many respects, and a devotion to duty and a desire to increase their knowledge, and have demonstrated that under good auspices they may execute original work of highly creditable character, which merits more praise than is generally conceded to them." All the Philippine Governors General during the American administration have agreed on this point, and Governor General Forbes, in his inaugural discourse, said: "I would not desire better men than the present officials and employees of the government, Americans as well as Filipinos. They may be favorably compared with any men that I have seen in my life in respect to aptitude and fidelity in compliance with duty."

PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY.

We reach the climax of this probational process. If the plain demonstrations of capacity given by the country in the other orders of public activity heretofore mentioned were not sufficient, the establishment of the Philippine Assembly, and its recognized success, give one of those incontrovertible arguments which in other affairs would bring about a decisive and final state. Summarizing in the work of reestablishing public order, there was nothing new, the Filipino people having been accustomed for many years to comply with the law and to maintain its rule almost by itself. The Filipino people is old in the practices of a life of progress and order. Thus it may be understood how the exercise of the liberty of the press, the liberty of association and assembly, the liberty of petition have not produced disturbances of any class, nor have grave disturbances been caused by the freedom of religion in a people accustomed to profess the religion of the state, and with a great majority belonging to a single religion. Guided by its profound good sense and the experience of freer people, there was settled in the courts, and not outside of them, those contentions as to ecclesiastical property, the defense of whose possession and control would have shaken in other places, we are certain, the foundations of society. In the midst of the revolution the people knew by itself how to maintain order and respect property in those towns where there was lacking a local government, due to the capture thereof by American troops and the abandonment thereof a little later by them, and consequently lacking the safeguards either of a Philippine government or of an American government. The fact that a great deal of the merit of completely reestablishing public order in the Philippines may justly be attributed to the local authority, to the people itself, should carry great weight with those who honestly, but with little knowledge of conditions, constantly speak of the ignorance of the Philippine people and of their lack of qualifications to maintain government of law and order, but produces no great effect with those who are more familiar with our conditions and know perfectly that nothing of this is new among us.

A stronger argument is supplied by the appropriate use of the suffrage, efficiency of Philippine officials, elective as well as appointive, and the success of local governments. We doubt if there are people who exercise the suffrage with the same purity and order as the Filipino people. We are sure that the efficiency of our public officials passes the most rigorous test. It is not ours, but American and foreign opinion which places our tribunals of justice at the highest level. And just as in the exercise of the suffrage, however great were the limitations under the past domination placed on our initiatives and the free manifestation of civic virtues, in the local governments of modern type implanted in the Philippines during this régime, there have been given those clear demonstrations of political experience that prove that the progress and the condition of instruction of the people can not be judged solely by the data that the census may give with reference to literacy, and that true political experience depends as much on the opportunities given to the people as those high virtues,

valor, energy, discretion, and patriotism, which are the fruit of civilization, and are not the exclusive patrimony of any race.

Where fear would appear better founded is in the establishment of a popular assembly. The Filipinos, it was said, have not had any parliamentary experience. There were not lacking persons who, having superficially studied history and finding that the life of some parliaments had been worked out through centuries, exacted as an essential condition for the success of parliamentary liberty centuries of experience. On the other hand, elections for delegates to the assembly had been very bitter and the triumphant party with an immense majority was the radical party, the defender of immediate independence, which had had little contact with the present régime, and which had not intervened, except when the people was called to deposit its votes.

Contrary to all the fears, contrary to all prejudice and suspicion, the Philippine Assembly was inaugurated on the 16th day of October, 1907, and its organization was immediately made effective. The organization was completed in forty minutes. When there is considered the inherent difficulties in the organization of an assembly, when it is taken into account the difficult experience of the older parliaments, when the recent experience of Cuba is brought to mind, calm and reflection permit us to appreciate all the success of this decisive step taken by the Filipino people.

The practical sense of the assembly is singularly revealed in the type of organization adopted. It is easy to understand that the representatives of the people having united for the first time, many of them coming from the provinces most remote from the capital, and the country being without fixed precedents, each one would bring a private opinion as to organization. Finally, there was adopted the type of organization of the Congress of the United States, which, as was seen later, was most adapted to our interests. Probably there was considered in this selection the idea that in this manner, selecting a type that was familiar to Congress, the latter might judge of the labor of the assembly with greater facility and accuracy. It was not the most appropriate to deliver long and sterile orations and provoke in the assembly those debates that are so frequent in other countries, and which, though they result in a very interesting spectacle for those that have no interest in the success of the organization, injure on the other hand the seriousness of an assembly and necessarily delay the prompt and proper dispatch of business. The lines of discretion and seriousness that the delegates adopted then in their deliberations and debates show that their intention on adopting the American rule was that of abolishing all unnecessary difficulty and to proceed with resolution and expedition in the transaction of the important business in its charge. The Filipino delegates were not ignorant of the defects which, among the advantages of regulations formed through patriotism, wisdom, and experience, appear, as in all human work, in the organization of the Congress of the United States, but placed the application of the rules in the hands of persons who knew how to interpret at the same time the true needs of the assembly and its sentiments. There was named as president of the committee on rules a member of the Assembly, and not the speaker, and the theory of good democracy applied to the dispatch of the business of the assembly gave as a result that initiative which received a stimulus, and all the legislative business was regularly and promptly dispatched. The fact that the majority of the assembly composed more than four-fifths of the membership, served to show the liberality and patriotism of its members, and there was conceded to the minority in spite of this not only representation in all of the committees, but the chairmanship of several of them. There were associated all and were excluded none from the labor of the assembly; thus there was recognized and protected the minority and there were likewise fixed the foundations of an organization the results of which we are now going to see.

The assembly entered boldly on its duties. Without passion and without hatred, forgetting that its members belonged to different political parties, that there had been a fierce struggle in the elections, there was remembered only that they belonged to a common country and the public welfare was a sacred charge placed in its hands. The highest feeling of responsibility, that responsibility of which the Filipino people had given so many and such great proofs in other moments of its history, accompanied the assembly in its tasks. Its legislative work has been fruitful and the scalpel of study and criticism penetrated from the little local details to the organization of the central government. The task of fixing the budget was approached vigorously and there were presented proposals to simplify the present organization of the central government. Without

systematic opposition, projects were defeated considered prejudicial to the people or that infringed its rights. Nothing indicates better the character of the first assembly than the constructive tendency of its laws, and this merit, singular in a new legislative body, would merit without doubt the close considerations and lengthy study of those who may or must judge of the capacity of the Filipinos for the management of their own affairs.

Nothing was forgotten, and the resolutions of the assembly making a public declaration of the sentiments of the people to live a free and independent life, are a monument to its loyalty and its civicism. It is not true that some of the political parties represented in the assembly have made concrete promises of immediate independence if its members reached the assembly, and the only thing which sustained it and which now sustains it is that the Filipino people desire it. The policy of the assembly was conducted within the amplest tolerance and the best feeling of intelligence and cooperation, and this was done not because within or without the assembly the Filipino people had renounced its ideals, but because it was believed that such policy would be, among other measures, a proper argument to show the justice of such ideals. In this manner when the party that obtained the majority in the first elections again presented itself to the people in the electoral campaign which preceded the second assembly, it received the most sincere and complete approval of the people, which elected a more considerable majority in its favor than in the past.

Education, material improvements, agriculture, industry and commerce, public health, local governments, labor—everything which has been under the consideration of the assembly received immediate and efficient attention. Two very notable tendencies of the legislation passed are, first, the profoundly democratic sense which was shown from the first instance in the law appropriating a million pesos for the schools, and in the law governing labor accidents; and second, the character of stability brought to the legislative sphere and appropriately shown in the law which provided for the revision of all the codes and the compilation of the infinite number of administrative laws now in force. When there is seen and judged with eyes free from all prejudice the result of the Philippine Assembly, which has fully justified the hopes of those that vouched for it and were responsible to Congress for its establishment, and when are considered the tremendous difficulties that in the advance of the liberty of all countries accompany the organization and operation of popular assemblies, in the serene judgment of all impartial and just men there must necessarily be admitted the basis on which the Filipino people rests in insisting on their demands which adversity and mishaps fortify and solidify, to possess the high attributes and assume the grave responsibilities of a sovereign free and independent government.

III.

ALLEGED OBSTACLES TO INDEPENDENCE: THEIR CONSIDERATION.

There are some objections that the statesmen responsible for the present policy of the United States in the Philippines have presented to the natural ambition of Filipinos possessing an independent self-government. These objections are summarized briefly in the lack of preparation of the Filipinos for the exercise of the responsibilities and powers inherent in such governments on account of defective conditions, some inherent and others transitory, presented by the present state of Philippine civilization, or the nature of the Filipinos. Whether these objections have or not a solid foundation to deny or defer the transfer to the Filipinos of political control of their own affairs, is what we will consider in this chapter.

It is to be lamented, nevertheless, that the progress of political science has not established definitely the conditions of preparation which people require to be able to govern themselves, since the lack of common rule makes it little less than impossible to know if a given people has or not the necessary conditions to maintain an independent government. Independent nations present such different conditions, such contradictory systems of government, vices and virtues so different, languages, customs, and usages so varied, that truly we can not know to a certainty what are the conditions which exist in independent nations and which are lacking in the Filipino people. This will necessarily limit our study solely to those conditions or defects of our people, or of our civilization, that are mentioned by those who are interested in not conceding independence to the Filipinos.

In the declarations made authoritatively of the American policy in the Philippine Islands, there has been frequently stated the belief that the islands would be delivered to a bloody and horrible chaos if they should be left to their fate, that the United States has the duty of educating the ignorant masses of the people until they can know their civil rights and sustain them against the abuses of the superior classes, and exercise with certainty their political rights; that if the islands should now be left to the Filipinos, the probable result would be the organization of an oppressive and cacique oligarchy, which would exploit the inferior masses and that the educated, as well as the ignorant masses of the Filipino people, must be educated in the practice of political power, of which they have not had experience, until the Filipino people shows itself reasonably fit to control a popular government, maintaining law and preserving order, and offering to the rich and poor the same protection of the laws and of civil rights.

DISORDER AND CHAOS.

The first point we must study, because it is the most important condition in the life of an independent government, is the question of order and the method of preserving it. The causes which are indicated as likely to generate a condition of anarchy, the government being in the hands of the Filipinos, are: (a) That in all periods and from the earliest days of Philippine civilization there have existed in the islands bands of ladrones who infest the provinces and control pacific residents and the forces of the government; (b) that the profound ignorance of the masses constitutes a constant danger to public tranquillity; (c) that the irresponsible power of the caciques over their ignorant fellow-citizens would always be used in cases of discontent for purposes of vengeance and to destroy the peace. Before beginning to consider these characteristics, which are believed peculiar to the present state of the country, we take note of what many impartial observers have written concerning the character of the Filipino people. The Filipino people, according to these observers, who have associated familiarly with them, is pacific by temperament, is inclined to peace, is patient, and at times even indolent in seeking reparation for offenses committed against them when they may be borne. This opinion is proven by history. In the long period of Spanish domination history scarcely records a few local disturbances; not one had a general character, except the revolution of 1896, which reappeared in 1898, and which as known was based on political motives.

During the period of the revolutionary government no grave disturbances occurred affecting the interior order of the provinces comprehended within the jurisdiction of Aguinaldo's government. Nothing then may be feared with respect to the public order and public tranquillity which may come from a natural propensity in the inhabitants of the islands for disorder and revolution, as occurs in many countries of Latin origin.

The existence of certain bands of robbers, few in number, and disturbing few provinces during the Spanish Government, were the consequences of temporary causes arising from the deficiencies of the political system in force in the islands and from the condition of poverty which prevailed among the common mass of the people. The rural inhabitants of the Philippine Islands were unarmed against the violators of order, and the guardia civil which was spread throughout the provinces was insufficient to protect the inhabitants of the remote barrios. The terror of the guardia civil and the crimes it committed against defenseless residents tended rather to augment the number of robbers than to suppress them. The lack of means of defense and protection must always constitute a cause of public insecurity, because it is not practicable to require the residents of a neighborhood to defend themselves against the wicked members of the community who have arms and resources dangerous to their lives and properties. The condition of order during the present sovereignty improved only when the constabulary could be concentrated in a sufficient number in one or a few provinces to encourage the people to pursue robbers and to terrorize and scatter the latter by their presence. The only measure consequently to remedy such unfortunate condition is to distribute among the people sufficient arms to resist and destroy individuals who are members of such bands. Failing in this, the same state of things which formerly existed will still exist in those neighborhoods in which the police force is not sufficiently efficient by number or by arms to prevent the temporary formation of bands of three or more persons devoted to robbery and violence, especially in the years of bad rice crops, because then hunger reduces

to a truly miserable condition numbers of the residents of the mountains without other resources.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the same causes which brought about the forming of bands of robbers in former times would be revived under the government of the Filipinos. As a fact, such bands were dissipated during the government of Aguinaldo. The right to bear arms would doubtless be one of the rights which would be recognized under an independent government, and this would give to each community practical means of protecting its lives and interests against those persons prejudicial to the same. These would tend to cease their evil habits or would be exterminated in one manner or another, since there would be no other alternative. The misery of the common mass which contributed and contributes now to the formation of such bands would have to be effectively improved through suitable legislation which would give to the poor facility to acquire their lands and cultivate them.

An eloquent proof of the good disposition of the people toward preservation of order under normal circumstances was the organization of the bands which operated during the Spanish sovereignty. These were selected from the common people of the municipalities. They performed service by day in the municipality and watched by night at points outlying the resident section for the public security. They received no salary except equipment and clothing. Their duties were, when occasion necessitated, though badly armed, to seek and pursue, evildoers, fight these, and arrest them. They successfully performed these duties. The men of the towns accompanied on many occasions these bands for such purposes. It is not less indicative of the spirit of order and discipline of the people that there are communities which have barely two or three policemen to guard the jail and maintain order. The lack of these is not felt on days of great feasts and crowds.

The danger of disorder feared is as small as remote.

IGNORANCE AS A MENACE TO ORDER.

There is pointed out as another of the grave menaces which might constitute a constant danger to order the ignorance of the Philippine masses who speak only one of the 15 or 16 Malay dialects, each one of which contains a very limited vocabulary which offers no means of communication with modern thought and civilization.

We do not desire in any way to deny that there really exists among the Filipino people persons not educated in schools. No one laments this situation like the Filipinos themselves—a situation due to causes altogether foreign to their will. Nevertheless, while it may be said that there are some illiterate people not prepared in the schools, it can not be said that the people is profoundly ignorant. From the fact that there are people who do not know how to read and write does not necessarily indicate that the community in which they live does not know the rights and duties appropriate to a civilized community.

Let us take as an example one of those rural communities of the islands far distant from centers of commerce and education. It is a community that lives pacifically, has a religion (the Christian), and practices its creed. Each individual constructs his home and works a piece of ground and sows what is necessary for his living. His house is small, but he keeps it clean, as well as its surrounding lot. He lives from fishing or agriculture. He does not rob or steal or kill or molest any of his neighbors. He receives the stranger cordially and shares with him all the resources that his natural hospitality permits. He pays a teacher for his children or sends them to the public school of the town. He recognizes his public authorities, to whom he appeals on all occasions when he receives some injury or other, pays his tax religiously when required to do so by the agent of the municipal authority. The community scarcely requires police because order is very rarely disturbed. All live in the greatest satisfaction, without passions, without struggle, in the midst of an enviable harmony.

We can not say that a community that lives thus is profoundly ignorant and might place in danger the security and order of the state on account of its ignorance. If we compare this community with other Filipino communities which form the municipalities and the Provinces of the archipelago and present the same sketch and characters, with the only difference that there are in these a greater proportion of instructed persons, we can not see any danger to order in confiding to such communities the government of their own interests. It is

flattering to be able to say that the truth is that the so-called ignorant mass of our people so unjustly treated by our critics is sufficiently instructed in its duties of man and of citizen, and we are certain from what occurred during the revolutionary period that with the independence of the country there would be again awakened in it that stimulus to greater progress, well-being, and liberty that collective conscience and that spirit of responsibility of which it has given so many and such eloquent proofs.

Furthermore, the causes which under the past sovereignty produced the present condition of education in the people are sufficiently known, and likewise well known are the methods which should be employed to more generally spread instruction among the masses most needing it. It is reasonable to suppose that whatever government the Filipinos may have will give all possible opportunities to all the classes of the people to educate themselves in the schools. The Filipino people, as has been said in another place, is glad to instruct itself in all branches of human knowledge. It is not necessary that it be compelled to this. In the official reports there is noted with true satisfaction the natural inclination displayed by the Filipinos for education, the poorest families sending their children to school. There has been a constant increase in the number of children attending the public and private schools, so that in this year it may be reckoned that nearly 700,000 children and youths are receiving an education in the different public and private schools established throughout the archipelago.

The Philippine Assembly has always been ready to make large appropriations for the bureau of education, and this certainly indicates that if the country were independent the Philippine government would place all its interest in increasing and spreading instruction among the masses, not only because it would understand that this was its responsibility, but likewise because it would recognize the advisability of having the people instructed in order that the nation might be solid and strong. The Philippine government would be in possession of power to save a great part of the present budget destined to salaries end expend such savings in paying school-teachers and constructing school buildings in order that the progress of education might be more rapid daily in the islands.

There exists, then, in our opinion no reason whatever to fear the imagined dangers that the present state of education of the people might offer to the permanent establishment of public order under an independent government. Above the subtle conventionalisms of nations which, in spite of all, have never been able to fix with precision and uniform judgment when a people is sufficiently educated to be independent or when not, it is certain that there exists here a people old in the practices of civilized life, lovers of home and property, and enthusiastic for education and progress, obeyers of the law, all of which, far from being a danger to order, is its firmest and most secure foundation.

"CACIQUISM" AND OLIGARCHY.

There is likewise pointed out as another obstacle to good order and the establishment of democratic institutions and principles the so-called "caciquism" dominant in the country. There is mentioned the fact that in the rural municipalities of the Philippines the whole people is completely subject to the will of some educated person of alert intelligence living in the community, who knows the local dialect and who desires or knows how to excite the fears or the cupidity of his neighbors to organize a party to resist imaginary wrongs or oppression, in order to satisfy vengeance or to obtain a livelihood without labor. There is said in proof of this that the history of the revolution and of the state of disorder which followed it is full of examples in which the simple country people incited by the local caciques have committed the most horrible crimes of torture and assassination, and when the authors have been arrested and prosecuted they have simply replied that the caciques of the locality had ordered them to commit the crime. There is mentioned likewise that with great frequency the presidente and other officials of the town make use of their offices to subject the ignorant residents of their respective towns to their control in the sale of agricultural products. The official acts as an intermediary in the sale and takes the greater part of the products of the person he represents. It is likewise alleged that caciquism is revealed in the most flagrant form when the Philippine municipal officials, and even provincial officials, are invested with governmental power over non-Christian tribes or over others that are not of their own race distributed through the Christian

Philippine provinces. It is said that the people of these tribes are victims of abuse and oppression on the part of such Philippine officials.

The series of acts mentioned which show the existence of the so-called "caciquism" in the Philippine Islands is not truly the result solely of the state of education of the masses, but a natural product of the perversity of man of whatever time and whatever race. The instinct of profiting at the expense of one's neighbor or of satisfying certain passions and taking advantages of other men who may be convinced or seduced is not only a quality peculiar to Filipinos, but a universal human sentiment. This instinct naturally reveals itself in different forms according to the condition of the various societies, but in one form or another it exists among all people, whether they are civilized or not. He who considers himself stronger will always try to obtain some profit if he can from the weaker whether this one be ignorant or not.

The facts mentioned are not, however, very general nor are they of such gravity as those that occur in more civilized countries. The examples of caciques who have ordered the assassination or the torture of hostile persons are exceptionally rare, or so little known that there has not reached our knowledge specific cases registered in the tribunals of justice. The abuses by officials who take advantage of their official influence to serve as middlemen for some ignorant persons in the sale of their products, aside from being few, are assuredly less scandalous than those which are told of officials of independent countries who enter into illicit combinations to permit gambling houses or houses of prostitution, in the profits of which they participate.

We are not trying by this statement to apologize for these abusive acts, but the fact that they are committed, no only in this country but in all countries, although they wear different forms or aspects in each one of them, brings us to a conclusion, and it is this: That because this evil exists in the Philippine Islands is not a reason for failing to concede independence to the Filipinos. The belief that caciquism in the islands may constitute a grave danger to order is not sustained by the facts. There is nothing in the facts before mentioned and in those which the action of the caciques show which can not be corrected by the action of the courts or of the executive. It would be therefore extravagant to believe that the Filipino government would lack means or sufficient resources to punish the abuses or the disturbances which local caciquism may occasion. It would not be an error to suppose that the government being in the hands of the Filipinos and there being established naturally greater confidence between the people and the government that any act of caciquism would be more promptly denounced and consequently punished.

In relation to the existence of caciquism, which thrives as is believed because the mass of the people is profoundly ignorant, there is likewise expressed the idea that in case of constituting an independent government the educated mass which would form the government would make of this an oligarchy which would tend to oppress and exploit the ignorant mass. In other words, it would be a government of caciquism. It would not be possible to ignore this fact, that by the force of circumstances and in virtue of our sociological conditions, the government must be in a certain manner in the hands of the most capable and intelligent group having knowledge of the science of government and of society. But far from this being an evil, if this group is to be the element favoring modern ideas always inspired in good and in the interest of the community, if it is to guide the others to conduct them to the object of their aspirations for progress and well-being through the means most appropriate and suitable to it and in the final analysis, it will be but the most faithful and suitable instrument of the will of the majority, there would be no mistake in placing on its shoulders the responsibility of a sovereign people.

There is likewise sufficient evidence showing that the people are educated in the practices of equality and democracy; that there will be no danger whatever of the interested and wicked preponderance of a determined group called caciquism or directing. There exists the positive and certain fact—that exactly the so-called caciquism group, responding to the desires of the entire body, has realized and is realizing the work of lifting up the spirit of the most humble masses, of aiding them to proceed in the road of progress and prosperity, of increasing the love of country and liberty. From this, one might infer that on establishing the Philippine government the directive group would feel certainly the pressure of the advantage of educating all the masses, because the first work of the government would be to strengthen the nation in the interior and exterior and there would be recognized that public instruction is the most solid basis of a nation's strength.

RELATIONS BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND NONCHRISTIANS.

The fact that there have occurred examples of abuse and oppression by Filipinos in office of persons belonging to the non-Christian tribes does not indicate a general policy, nor is it the general treatment extended by Christian people to the non-Christian tribes. The reference to these abuses seems to indicate the belief that the Christian people in their relation with the non-Christian people would not be disposed to give to the latter a just and liberal treatment, which would tend to lift them to the grade of civilization acquired by the Christian people. Nothing, however, can present with less accuracy the point of view and the intention which animates the Christian people with respect to those who are not so. The inhabitants of the Christian Provinces, as we have stated elsewhere, understand that the non-Christian tribes are a very important and valuable factor, not only for the population but likewise for the defense of the common country. The variety of people which inhabits the islands and speak different dialects with distinct religious creeds and customs, are susceptible of forming a true homogeneous unit, which they now have, through ethical reasons, assisted by the chains of common interests and ideals for the objects of progress and civilization. The belief that there is a true rivalry and hatred between the Christian and non-Christian people has been almost always exaggerated; nothing, however, is falsier than this opinion. The simple knowledge of the non-Christian tribes of the establishment of the Filipino government in Malolos produced a distinct approximation in the ideas and relations of the Christian and non-Christian people, the latter having presented themselves spontaneously to the authorities of said government, giving it loyal support and recognition. There is too the fact that some Christians of Luzon and Visayas have established themselves in Moro territory or in various "raucherias" that live in the mountains from which the most skillful have succeeded in acquiring greater or less fortune.

The true reason for the dissatisfaction and differences existing between the non-Christian people and the Christian people is based rather on the fact that the non-Christian people believe the Christians allied with the foreign government, anxious to pervert them with a change of their religious beliefs. But religious intolerance having disappeared, the principal factor which caused the existing differences between the two, it will not be difficult to convince the non-Christian people of the islands of the benefits of living under a common régime with the inhabitants of the Christian Provinces. We are convinced that a Filipino government is the only one that could reach in a permanent manner and without violence a definite understanding with the non-Christian communities of the islands, because the latter in spite of the differences of religion and customs, would not oppose, nor could they oppose, the influence of the ethnical unity and relationship. This circumstance gives to the Christian Filipinos the advantage of a better knowledge of the psychology of their non-Christian compatriots and teaches them the road most appropriate and the measures most suitable to reach the intelligence and hearts of the said compatriots and to establish with them the relationship which tends to consolidate national unity.

LITTLE POLITICAL EXPERIENCE.

The little political experience of the Filipinos, acquired under the Spanish Government, has constantly been a theme touched upon to refuse the national aspirations of the Filipinos. But if it be considered that the nations, whatever be their race or creed of humanity, have only gained complete experience through direct and absolute control in the management and government of their interests, such argument loses a great part of its force and strength. Experience in life and in business certainly comes in no other manner but in daily contact with the men or with the interests which are managed. The United States has not gained experience to manage the affairs of a federation, except since the old Britannic colonies declared themselves independent and constituted such form of government. We are convinced that the Filipinos must likewise expect more complete experience to direct and administer their national affairs after they are independent. The Filipinos have gained, doubtless, greater experience than they had in the past domination in municipal and provincial affairs, because they have been placed face to face with the responsibilities and difficulties of practice in such affairs. Experience in the control of affairs which we would call national it may be said they have not had during the present régime, or if they have had, it is as an experience purely theo-

retical. So that if the laws which govern the present system are to continue permanently, the Filipinos would experience the same results which they had with the Spanish Government as to practical political education.

The Filipinos acquired much more experience and education during the epoch of the so-called government of the Filipino republic than in any time before or since the American occupation. The succinct relation that we made in the first chapter of the provisions and regulations adopted by that government shows that the governmental practice of the Filipinos does not differ much from the experience of the old nations. This historic fact serves to demonstrate that political experience may be gained either by independent effort or by the experience of others.

The colonial experience of the United States has occurred only since the war with Spain. The political experience of American statesmen has been limited before this time to domestic affairs. When the American Nation, through the declaration of their prominent men, and in other ways, congratulates itself in saying that its colonial administration of the new people, subject to its domination, has been carried on with success, we can not do less than infer from this the truth from our point of view that a previous practical experience is not necessary to a country when it shows good judgment and disposition in other affairs to obtain the success of an undertaking.

We are glad to be able to say that the good sense and the good disposition shown by the Filipino people in adapting its life and customs to the practice of the civilized nations of Europe and America permit the well-founded hope that with this actual practical experience it will have success in its work in the experiment of an independent government.

A COMMON LANGUAGE.

The lack of a common language spoken and written in the relations of the Filipinos among themselves has been likewise mentioned a number of times in discussing the problem of our independence. It has caused the teaching of English in the schools and its diffusion by all possible means among different people of the country, with the object that the Filipino people may acquire not only a common medium of communication but likewise the advantages that the possession of the English language would give for commerce and the study of free institutions.

The existence of various dialects within a single country is certainly an impediment to easy communications, and to the communication of thought and word between men of the same country, but the fact that there exists a like condition in many independent nations of old Europe makes us believe that it is not an indispensable condition to the independence of nations.

The number of dialects of the country, and the importance of the difficulties which this variety of dialects creates has been much exaggerated. But to be accurate, we must say that properly there are three dialects: One which dominates in the north, that is the Ilocano; another that dominates in the center, that is the Tagalog; and another that dominates in the south, that is the Visayan. The other dialects are varieties of one of these three principal ones, so that after a period of a few weeks in a place the Filipinos may speak and understand the dialect of the locality.

IV.

OBSTACLES TO THE INDEFINITE RETENTION OF THE ISLANDS PREPARATORY TO THEIR INDEPENDENCE.

The present policy was explained by President Taft in his special report as Secretary of War to the President relating to the Philippine Islands, dated the 23d of January, 1908, as follows:

"I do not see how any more definite policy can be declared than was declared by President McKinley in his instructions to Secretary Root for the guidance of the Philippine Commission, which was incorporated into law by the organic act of the Philippine government, adopted July 1, 1902. That policy is declared to be the extension of self-government to the Philippine Islands by gradual steps from time to time as the people of the islands shall show themselves fit to receive the additional responsibility, and that policy has been con-

sistently adhered to in the last seven years now succeeding the establishment of civil government.

* * * * *

"It necessarily involves in its ultimate conclusion as the steps toward self-government become greater and greater the ultimate independence of the islands, although, of course, if both the United States and the islands were to conclude after complete self-government were possible that it would be mutually beneficial to continue a governmental relation between them like that between England and Australia, there would be nothing inconsistent with the present policy in such a result.

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"Any attempt to fix the time in which complete self-government may be conferred upon the Filipinos, in their own interest, is, I think, most unwise. The key of the whole policy outlined by President McKinley and adopted by Congress was that of the education of the masses of the people and the leading them out of the dense ignorance in which they are now, with a view to enabling them intelligently to exercise the force of public opinion without which a popular self-government is impossible."

This policy nevertheless has not yet been sanctioned by Congress in all its parts. Congress, which is the power in which resides the regulation of affairs referring to the Philippine Islands, has until the present refused to express its opinion with reference to the future political status of the islands.

CONTRARY OPINIONS AND POSITIONS.

This indefiniteness as to the political future of the country results in two contrary movements of opinion as well among Americans as among Filipinos—some who believe that independence must be conceded after some years, and others who believe that it is never to be conceded. The doubts which arise from this state of indefiniteness result in all and each one working without a fixed direction, producing a lack of general agreement, which is far from favoring the progress and well-being of all the residents of the islands. In the attitude, idea, and actions of many Americans in the islands appears to be indicated the conviction held by them that the Filipinos are not to be, nor will ever be, independent; that the American flag will never be lowered there, where it has once waved. So that, notwithstanding the repeated declarations made by high authorities in the United States that the government implanted in the islands is for the interest and benefit of the Filipinos, there are many American residents of the islands who conduct themselves in the contrary sense, animated apparently with the idea that the government has been established here exclusively for their interest and benefit. It is observed, for example, that there are few Americans of those who come to the islands who have endeavored to intimately know the Filipinos or to gain the friendship of the latter by socially and personally uniting with them, but many of them have displayed egotistic and personal motives; sometimes publicly indicating that the Americans have come to the islands to better their purses and interests, and at other times depreciating the association of the Filipinos, or in a thousand ways treating them depreciatingly. Few of the Americans who deal with the Filipinos can hear with calmness the demands of the Filipinos for their independence, but many of them laugh jokingly at it as at a thing impossible. On the other hand, the Filipinos who accept in good faith and sincerity the carrying out of this policy, in view of those examples given by the Americans, can with difficulty induce a ray of hope into the minds of their compatriots, and not a few come to establish in their minds the belief that the American Government is not disposed to specify to-day or at any time the political aspirations of the Filipinos.

HARMONY AND GOOD UNDERSTANDING MADE DIFFICULT.

From this naturally come many difficulties which do not contribute to create that healthful harmony, that close relation, between Americans and Filipinos which is necessary for the fulfilling of the mission which the American people desires to fill with respect to the natives of the islands. The American Government needs the cooperation of the people, needs the support of the Filipinos to convince the country as to the generous and altruistic designs which have moved it to remain in the islands, but every day the Filipino politicians are denounced to the government as propagators of evil doctrines; as obstacles to

the execution of the plans of the government; as hostile to the sovereignty and mission of North America in the islands; in general, as the most dangerous enemies of its own people. It would even seem that there is an effort to make the government believe that it should suspect all Filipino politicians; that ear should not be given to their proposals and complaints; that it should entirely ignore them or do the contrary of what they ask or propose, because in this manner they might administer more justly and efficaciously the interests of the people in these islands. In this manner the labor of the government for a closer union with the people is strongly embarrassed on the one side by the voice of a portion of the American press which clamors constantly against the policy and the Philippine politicians, and on the other side by the voice of a portion of the Filipino press which, rendered hostile by that, considers it necessary to take the defense of the Filipinos, censuring the Americans, and making them responsible for the violation of its own principles and policy in the islands.

There is observed on this account frequently a low struggle of individuals whose judgments are engaged in presenting an antagonism of interest between American and Filipino people, relaxing the bonds of cordial and mutual intelligence which the government extremely desires to see established. The efforts of men of good faith of both people are always directed in avoiding the breaking out of this struggle, of the reestablishing in a short time courtesy and mutual consideration. The frequent injury that this occasions in the cordiality of the relations of the Filipino people and government is great. Meantime, the government can not remain aloof from this struggle, and as it is composed in its majority of Americans it is obliged to act in accord with the dominating spirit in the American community. From which, in their turn, the Filipinos complain and form among themselves the opinion that the government does not listen to the voice of the Filipinos, but gives consideration only to the interests and satisfaction of the Americans.

DIFFICULTIES IN ADMINISTRATION.

The difficulties of administering the interests of a completely different race are revealed by the fact that the government judges many times very erroneously the attitude of the people and its representatives, and in its turn the people misunderstands the intentions and dispositions of the government. In 1902 there appeared for the first time since the American occupation cholera in Manila and the surrounding provinces. The government was obliged to adopt precautions and measures to protect the health of the inhabitants. There was put in force various regulations drawn up to avoid the propagation of the evil and there was increased the number of the sanitary corps who had to carry into effect said regulations. The people was not accustomed to the methods adopted and believed itself persecuted by the representatives of the government and refused, in many cases, to submit to the methods prescribed by the official science. The violence in the execution and enforcement of such methods resulted in the hiding of cases and to secret burial of corpses in such cases. The native press criticized some of the regulations emanating from the government and the manner of putting them into execution. The government understood then that the representatives of the press were impeding the measures for the repression of the evil until the knowledge of some facts made the government understand the necessity of reforming the processes, and it then took advantage of the cooperation of the Filipinos themselves in the sanitary measures adopted from which were obtained better results. In 1904 the constabulary was the object of severe criticism on the part of the native press for the commission of abuses and other excesses in the performance of its duties. The government saw in such criticisms as always a spirit of party and hatred on the part of those who criticized the government and its institution. It believed that these sympathized with and aided the ladrones who disturbed peace and order. The publication of certain facts in *El Renacimiento* gave rise to a prosecution of this newspaper. The evidence in the case proved the commission of acts of violence and torture by officials of the constabulary. The court acquitted the editors of *El Renacimiento* and since then the appointment of the chiefs and officers of said corps are made with greater care and there has been observed a higher standard of efficiency in the service of the corps and better cooperation of the people with its officers and men.

These facts serve to illustrate the difference of judgment which always appears when a people has not a government composed of men of its own race that can understand clearly its method of life and peculiar habits. This lack

of comprehension by a foreign government, aggravated by the difference of language, contributes not a little to the fact that the people view with doubt or lack of confidence the acts of said government. This government needs the faith and the complete confidence of the people in order that every one of its acts should be accepted by the people with the satisfaction and certainty that it is to better their interests and make them happy and prosperous.

Great principles or great men are not so necessary in order that the administration of the interests of a people attain the advancement or well-being of the people, but it is absolutely necessary that the people have entire faith in those to whom are confided its interests, because without that faith every effort of intention or of act that those who govern take will encounter passiveness and indifference on the part of the people. In consequence of this our government attributes at times to ignorance or lack of understanding of its own interest the indifference which the people displays toward many good acts or laws made in its favor, as, for example, the homestead law.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

These symptoms of doubt manifest themselves markedly in the consideration of economic subjects. All Filipinos believe necessary the development of the natural resources of its to-day unproductive soil. They understand the necessity of the assistance of foreign capital, but they complain at the same time against the policy of selling great tracts of land to corporations, against perpetual franchises for railroad companies, and against the predominance of corporations and commercial interests; and this, which appears a very grave confusion of ideas, has its origin in the rooted belief that the future of the people is threatened by the invasion of that capital which, once rooted here, will be opposed, when the moment arrives, to all change of sovereignty, because it would not believe itself sufficiently secure and protected except under its own sovereignty. If this government were the image and work of the people, these fears would not be felt and the cries of protest of the present would be converted into cries of praise and blessing, because the people would have entire faith and complete security that its interests and its future in the hands of such government would be under the protection of guaranties such as would permit the development of native capital on equal terms with that from abroad.

It is believed generally among the Filipinos that this government has given no attention to favoring with some stimulus the development of Filipino capital and has used all its efforts in bringing capital from without for the exploiting of the material riches of the country. They feel that this government, which has been established for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the inhabitants of the islands according to the text of the instructions of McKinley to Secretary of War Root, leaves the Filipinos abandoned to their fate in the development of their economic interests; does not extend its protection to native capital, whether interesting said capital in the formation of new industries for which the soil offers rich material, there being given some privileges by law, or authorizing facility to Philippine producers and merchants in the prosecution of their enterprises, or inducing the companies that are formed to admit Philippine capital, for the agricultural and mining exploitations. The people observe that all the preferences and stimulus of the government is kept for foreign capital and that the government leaves it unprotected, and it is not to be wondered at that the people feels a profound neglect and that it sees itself in advance beaten in an unequal economic competition and loses faith in the benevolence of the intentions of the government. In the practice of the professions it observes likewise that natives of the country are being relegated to the background and that the business is controlled by Americans, and that, as in the case of the surveyors, there have been efforts to deny to the latter the practice of the profession in what relates to an office of the government, and in its profound logic the people have reason to believe that the government, far from favoring their economic condition, restrains them without, perhaps, wishing to do so.

The people are convinced that they comply with all their obligations to the government; that in spite of their poverty they pay annually in taxes ₱30,000,000, with the object that the government may provide all measures and resources to improve the economic conditions of the country. The Philippine people nevertheless finds itself in the same condition of economic crisis that prevailed under the past domination. Failures to pay and requests for deferment of payment of taxes and the sale of property for insolvency evidence the

deplorable state of the economic interests of the Filipinos. The existence and increase of the same pernicious amusements that created such poverty during the Spanish Government and which were abolished during the short period of the revolutionary government necessarily accompany such a condition. The increase of houses of usury and loan tend to aggravate the situation. This, which is so evident to the people, is nevertheless not so to the government.

The government believes that the people complain as a matter of routine or through ignorance of what must be paid for the necessary public services. The government shows that the commerce of importation and exportation, which measures the riches of a country, is increasing yearly and shows likewise that the rate of contribution per capita is considerably lower than in any civilized country. From this it results that the people do not understand the government nor the government the people, and the two doubt and mistrust each other.

In such a state of relations, that are the natural consequence of the present régime, the faith which has placed America in the administration of the affairs of the Filipinos for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the latter will never see itself realized. If there is taken into account, in addition, other organic defects in the present régime which prevent the development of the individual and national aptitudes of the people of the islands in a state which is supposed to be one of preparation, the claims of the Filipinos for the enjoyment of an independent government with the object of assuring its own progress and its final well-being would be far more justified.

UNSUITABLE LEGISLATION.

The gravest defect of the present system is founded entirely in the lack of confidence in the capacity of the natives, who are prevented from developing themselves by their own methods and are forcibly subject to an exclusively American type. Little effort has been placed so that the Filipinos by themselves might form the legislation with reference to the conditions and customs of the people. The legislation now in force has been constructed on purely American lines without exact knowledge of the character and peculiarities of the inhabitants of the country. Such legislation is not the work and product of circumstances and convenience of this people, but a copy and imitation of laws taken from a people with different characteristics and a distinct type of civilization. The Philippine Assembly was created after the construction of this legislation, and whatever effort to reform it in its foundation is absolutely nonrealizable through the opposition, at times blind, of the other branch of the legislature. It thus happens that some laws are of difficult application to the people of these islands.

LITTLE PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

In the executive branch is yet more notorious the lack of confidence which is the base of the system. The central axle of the administrative organism revolves in such a way that it leaves to the Filipinos no opportunity for practice in the conduct of public affairs through means of direct contact with the methods of action and their difficulties. If it be considered that the basis of the policy followed in the Philippine Islands is the preparation of the Filipinos for the exercise of the powers of an independent government, it is not seen how under the present system such a result may be obtained. For example, nearly all the chiefs of bureaus are Americans, as are their principal assistants and local agents; that is, all those who go to form and direct the plans for the execution of the laws. Few Filipinos, if there are any, can by virtue of their offices take part in the determination and regulation of these plans. The best education would be that which places the Filipinos on the ground of reality and places them in contact, by virtue of the duties of their offices, with a knowledge of the methods and practical difficulties of the public service.

INEQUALITY IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

From this comes the constant demand of the natives for the Filipinization of the public service, but the bureaucratic spirit which is developed necessarily among the colonizers in a colony tends to neutralize the results of this demand. The slow course that the insular government is adopting to place Filipinos in the offices of high salary and responsibility, notwithstanding the merit and the efficiency demonstrated in several years of service, is the result of constant em-

ployment of Americans who in a large number are always awaiting every occasion to occupy the vacancy or promotion of other Americans. The Filipinos are placed necessarily in their subordinate and assisting posts, and even when many of them are really prepared by experience gained through long service in the office and perform the duties performed by the Americans, only rarely and by accident are they promoted to the places of the latter.

The same treatment is not accorded to Americans and Filipinos in the civil service. In practice there appear to govern certain rules for Americans, and others for Filipinos. The salaries are not the same for one as for the other. The Americans are promoted more rapidly than the Filipinos in the same office, and the cases of demotion of the Filipinos are frequent. The merit and efficiency of the Filipinos are rated with greater rigor than those of the Americans, as well as likewise their failings in the service. All this is evidenced manifestly in the material fact that nearly all the posts occupied by Americans since the establishment of civil government continue in possession of the Americans.

The increase of Filipino employees each year is only apparent. There is not a chief of office who does not place annually in his estimate for expenses a greater sum than in the preceding year, and with this augment are created some inferior posts that are filled by Filipinos. The number which is set forth in the reports of the civil service is the total, and it shows an increase in the number of Filipino employees but not a diminution in the number of Americans. If the American policy in this matter in establishing the civil service is to educate the Filipino in the sense of responsibility in the government, the practice followed, instead of favoring this policy, paralyzes it in its educative effects and as a result tends to form a sort of privileged class composed solely of Americans.

GOVERNMENT OF THE NONCHRISTIAN PEOPLE.

Another grave fault of the present system is having followed the policy of maintaining a complete separation between the Christian and non-Christian people. The different tribes which inhabit the mountains of the north of Luzon and the Mohammedans of Mindanao must form part of the Filipino nation as belonging to the same territory and originating from a single ethnical trunk. The separation between these only tends to foment a lack of common interest, which creates in its practical results unfounded misunderstandings between them. There should be inculcated in the people of said tribes the idea that this is a Filipino government, and on that account they should become accustomed to see Filipinos at the head of the governments instituted among themselves. The concept which actually is imbued in them is that they must be protected against the alleged abuses of their own brothers—the Filipinos. If the Filipino nation is to govern alone in the future and those who constitute such tribes have to form a part of said nation, it is necessary to have them look on the Christians as brothers, as fellow citizens with whom they are to live and are to be united in a community of culture and aspiration. The Christians, as we said elsewhere, can not be assumed to be without all practical sense; that does not appreciate their interest in civilizing those non-Christian tribes that are an important factor as well for the population as for the defense of the common country. There would certainly not be lacking Christian Filipinos of demonstrated executive skill who might govern said tribes in accordance with their interest and well-being. The present political and administrative organization which separates the Christians from those that are not does not tend to the preparation for an independent Philippine government, but to prepare for the latter in its day difficulties in its relations with the inhabitants of said localities. If the Philippine Assembly could have jurisdiction over the territory occupied by the non-Christian tribes and the Moro Province there would be made evident the reasonable interest that the Christian people feel for the progress and well-being of the non-Christian people.

CONCLUSION.

The Philippine Islands were acquired by the United States by virtue of the cession made by Spain through an indemnization of \$20,000,000 in accordance with the treaty of Paris. On the date that this treaty was signed a great part of the Philippine territory was in power of a government organized by the Filipinos. The organization of this government was made with the knowledge, consent, and moral support of the Americans. On the opening of the Spanish-Ameri-

can war, Aguinaldo, who was considered the leader of the insurrection against Spain in 1896, came from Hongkong in an American transport of war with the object of reopening the revolution against Spain, having been induced to believe that he might reckon on the aid of the American forces. Although he made no use of the offers that were made to him, practically the attitude of the Americans and the relations that Aguinaldo maintained with them created the impression that he might consider them as allies. For some time the launches and steamers that were at the service of Aguinaldo displayed the Filipino flag and were not prevented from circulating in the Bay of Manila and some Provinces to carry forces and orders to Aguinaldo.

The 13th day of August, 1898, the city of Manila surrendered and Gen. Merritt, as commander of the American forces of occupation, published a proclamation, in one of whose paragraphs he said: That he had not come to the islands to take a piece of territory. From the date mentioned before and until the 4th of February, 1899, the Filipino government maintained cordial relations with the military troops of North America, and all of the differences were regulated through official communications of the representatives of the two governments.

These facts are mentioned with the object of showing that the persistency of the Filipinos in being independent is bound up in the recollections of that short period of their past in which, associated with the Americans, they threw down the secular power of a sovereignty and experienced the satisfaction and happiness of governing by themselves their interests and their future. Then they understood how satisfactory and sweet to the citizens is the yoke imposed by the power of its own laws and the government by men of its own race, and how close and loyal is the cooperation which exists between people and the government to better the interests of the country and to enter resolutely and without embarrassment into the wide ways of human progress. Then the Filipinos abandoned all the vicious practices which the former sovereignty had extended over all the masses and recovered the good qualities which people free from all yoke possessed. This moved the Filipinos to resist with all their force the new American domination, and to submit to it only when they fully understood that they might be independent in a more or less short period. The efforts of the Filipinos in defense of that government, the blood which its soldiers shed, and the money which was employed in the service of the Filipino flag, recalls to them constantly that short period of its happiness and makes them consider the present as a temporary situation which they desire to abbreviate as much as possible in order to acquire the satisfaction of their national ambitions and their intentions of elevation and enrichment of the country. They wish to consider that the American people have been guided providentially to these islands to save its people from oppression; they recognize that the American people has borne itself with liberality toward the Filipinos after the latter had been conquered; but they believe at the same time that if there existed the providential designs, these have been completely realized; that after twelve years that North America has governed these islands under its flag and has made clear to its inhabitants those theories and practices of a free people, the Government has terminated its mission with honor and glory for itself in these islands and may confide the government to the Filipinos with complete security for the interests of the latter and to all those that live in the country. The Filipinos at all times have shown a broad spirit of progress, a high interest in assimilating all ideas and practices of civilized people, and are not doubtful that they will operate in accordance with those ideas and practices on occupying their position among the nations of the earth.

For all these reasons, Mr. Secretary, we respectfully charge you to be the interpreter of the feelings of the Filipinos to President Taft, to whom we desire to transmit a copy of this document, and to the American Congress, to each one of whose members we likewise desire to transmit copies of the same.

Respectfully,

THE EXECUTIVE CENTER OF THE NACIONALISTA PARTY.
By SERGIO OSMEÑA, *President*.

Certified:

MAXIMINO MINA, *Secretary*.

APPENDIX D.

[Translation.]

MEMORANDUM FROM BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES.

MANILA, *September 1, 1919.*

MR. SECRETARY: We have the honor to send attached hereto a memorandum that contains, in synthesis, some of the subjects of which we treated extensively in our conferences with you. On these subjects the two Philippine political parties, the "Nacionalista" and the "Nacional Progresista," are in complete accord, and the executive committee of said parties have authorized and ordered us to submit the present.

Allow us, Mr. Secretary, to be,

Very respectfully, yours,

LAJOS,

President Nacionalista Party.

V. SINGSON ENCARNACIÓN,

President Progresista Party.

HON. JACOB MCG. DICKINSON,

Secretary of War of the United States.

[Translation.]

WE NEED A CONSTITUTION.

Whatever may be the ultimate and definite political status of the country, and whether independence come now or later, it is evident that the Philippine people need a constitution right now. Not to make this an ultimate aspiration, but in order to obtain immediately and by means thereof a safeguard for the rights and liberties of the people.

A fundamental law, enacted by the people, has in all times been a supreme necessity among all free peoples. As Lord Bryce says, the constitutions of the States are the most ancient documents of the political history of America; they are the continuation of the "royal colonial charters" under which they established their different local governments, subject to the authority of the British Crown and ultimately of the English Parliament.

In reality there exists no guaranties for the people, or true limitations to power unless said people enacts its own constitution.

"The Constitution is an agreement of the people in their individual capacity reduced to writing, whereby they establish and fix certain principles for their own government." (State v. Parkhurst, 9 N. J., 422.)

"The theory of our political system is that sovereignty ultimately rests in the people, from whom all authority emanates." (Cooley.)

Constitution is "the fundamental law or basis of government." (Story.)

"The supreme, original, and written will of the people acting in their highest capacity, creating and organizing the form of government, designating the different departments and assigning to these their respective powers and duties and obliging them to act within their respective spheres, this is the Constitution." (State v. Cox, 8 Ark., 436.)

Under the Constitution we want to put into effect, among others, the following purposes, which we set forth under separate headings, inasmuch as each one of them constitutes a matter so important and complete that we invite the attention of the Secretary of War to each and every one thereof:

A COMPLETE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS MADE BY THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

All the people of all countries have always been compelled to seek safeguards for their rights and guaranties for their liberties. Therefore the declaration of rights constitutes the principal part of a constitution.

"The petition of English rights in the year 1688 was historic and retrospective; the declaration of Virginia comes directly from the heart of nature and proclaims the principles of government for all future time." (Cooley.)

"The American Bills of Rights desire not only to formulate certain principles of political organization, but above all they define the lines of separation between the State and the individual. The individual does not, according to them, owe to the State, but to his own nature, as a subject of law, the inalienable and inviolable rights he has." (Jellinek.)

EXTENSION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

The reservation by Congress of many legislative powers that up to the present time have not been granted to the Philippine Legislature is a serious disadvantage to our interests. To cite no other cases we will invite attention to the lack of a naturalization law. This law is most important and its approval should not be delayed a single instant.

SEPARATION OF POWERS AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY.

The extraordinary situation that naturally followed the war having ceased, we do not see how the present system can continue longer, one that puts in the hands of one or a few men all the powers of the State. Several centuries have already passed since the constitutional charters were inaugurated by the division of powers. "If the individual himself," says Montesquieu, "can make the laws as delegate of the nation, to apply them as a judge and execute them as a sovereign, this man has despotism in his hand."

"The consolidation of all the legislative, executive, and judicial powers in the same hands, whether of one, several, or many, and either by hereditary right, usurpation, or election, may with justice be called the best definition of tyranny." (Madison.)

That the judiciary should be independent is something that can not be questioned.

"There is no liberty if the judiciary is not separated from the legislative and executive power." (Montesquieu.)

AN ELECTIVE SENATE.

From the experience that has been gained with the establishment of the Philippine Assembly, there is now no reason why the powers of the people may not be extended to a complete legislative control through the creation of an elective senate.

Only thus, acknowledging in the people the right of representation, in the house (*cámara popular*) and in the senate, can the interests of the said people be adequately maintained.

Moreover, there is need for reorganizing the public services, simplifying them, and at the same time making them more efficient, seeking more economy; and this task is little less than impossible to accomplish unless there is a senate elected by the people.

There are, on the other hand, certain powers that pertain to the smallest subdivisions of the government which are now attributed, with no advantage to anyone, but with injury to all, to the central government. We want more autonomy and less centralization in the local life, in order to develop and not restrain the initiative ability of the people, and this purpose can with difficulty be carried into effect if the powers of the two chambers are not derived from the people.

EXTENSION OF THE POPULAR LEGISLATIVE POWER THROUGHOUT THE ARCHIPELAGO.

The sentiment is unanimous among the Philippine people that the recognition of our national independence does not come burdened with the disastrous mutilation of our Philippine territory.

While it is not reasonable to deprive the assembly of the exercise of legislative powers over those portions of the Philippine territory, whether or not occupied by Christians, but inhabited all about by people related to our race, and whose needs and feelings we must necessarily be acquainted with better than outsiders, the anomalous case is presented of Filipinos in considerable numbers living in these portions of the territory who do not enjoy the civil

and political rights accorded to other Filipinos living in other portions of the same territory. The Supreme Court of the United States, ruling upon the nullity of certain laws of the commission depriving the non-Christian tribes of the benefits of the law of registration of property and of the law of public lands, takes as a basis that the principal object "in the internal administration of the Philippine Islands is to do justice to the natives and not to exploit their country for private gain," and that the guaranties and protection prescribed in the organic law of the 1st of July, 1902, are made extensive to all, for it is hard to believe that the Government of the United States would be in a condition to declare that the phrase "any person" (in article 12 of the organic law cited) does not include the inhabitants of the Province of Benguet—that is, inhabitants belonging to non-Christian tribes.

We judge this restriction of the assembly in its legislative tasks over Mindanao and the non-Christian tribes is the effect solely of a sad prejudice. The fact is that in those regions no Christians have settled save 60,000 Filipinos, and granting this is true the aspiration to participate in the government of those portions of our national territory is only sensible and just. We mean by this that there is no question of absorption of that government on the part of the popular element, but a simple participation that can not be denied without trampling upon and ignoring the incontrovertible principles of equity and justice.

In conclusion, this intervention in the management of the affairs of Mindanao and the non-Christian tribes is sought because nearly a million dollars in the Philippine treasury coming from general taxation of the people is invested, without consent or intervention of said people, in and by the government of the Moro Province and non-Christian tribes.

"That maxim that has been familiar to every intelligent person and for many generations that the taxpayers are the ones to enact the law of taxes that must be paid" (Cooley) implies that the revenues collected by virtue of said laws and imposts must be expended by and for the benefit of those who paid them.

Moreover, there has been talk, in order to sustain the present anomalous administration of the Moro Province and the non-Christian tribes, of a supposed antagonism between the Philippine Christians and these non-Christian tribes. If given opportunity, we might demonstrate with satisfaction that this antagonism does not exist. But without being prophets we may say that unfortunately such antagonism will arise if we continue an administration that results in making men who live upon the same soil become not only not brethren, but probably enemies. By not favoring our contact with the non-Christian tribes or Moros, but completely isolating us from them, it is not difficult to sow among them those ideas that sooner or later will create distrust, hostility, and enmity toward the Christians.

IMPEACHMENT.

It is important to institute some procedure whereby high officials of the government may be held answerable, and the separation of powers and the independence of the judiciary present a corollary that in certain grave cases said officials may and must answer for their conduct before bodies designated by law.

There are several other matters that we wish to include in this memorandum. These are:

CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Even though we are assured that Congress in its wise enactments will not alter the prudent policy established relative to Chinese exclusion, we believe, nevertheless, that we should enter here the unanimous feeling of the country in favor of this policy.

SALE OF PUBLIC LANDS AND THE FRIAR ESTATES.

Being desirous of implanting among ourselves the idea of a true democracy and providing against difficulties that, having occurred elsewhere, may occur among us in time to come, we resolutely set ourselves against a wider extension of the lands of public domain that may be sold to private parties or corporations. We also wish that such opinion prevail in connection with the sale of the friar estates. The intervention of the government in these estates never was understood to be the business, more or less lucrative, of said government,

but to be a sacred duty, to relieve the Philippine land tenants of the difficult position they occupied in the past.

FILIPINIZATION OF THE PUBLIC SERVICES.

While many of the questions we submit in this memorandum are, in the last analysis, within the province of Congress, the point enunciated in this paragraph is completely in your hands, and with all respect and most earnestly we beg that it be justly and promptly decided.

We might enter upon a lengthy dissertation, which, without lack of data or facts, might be sufficiently strong to support our claim: but we believe it unnecessary to insist upon it if we keep in mind the obligations themselves that, by virtue of definite statements, the Government of the United States has assumed. If President Roosevelt said that his idea was to erect a Philippine government of Filipinos, assisted by Americans, and President Taft declared that the Philippines must be for the Filipinos, from President McKinley came the following emphatic words, that are now fundamental precepts in virtue of their incorporation into the act of Congress of July 1, 1902.

McKinley said " * * * that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties they are to receive the offices in preference to any others."

It is not our purpose to recommend in the proposition that those efficient Americans should immediately be deprived of the positions they are now filling, but at the same time we do not see why, as the Filipino becomes competent to fill posts of greater responsibility, vacancies that occur are not filled by Filipinos.

LAJOS,
President of the Nacionalista Party.
V. SINGSON ENCARNACIÓN,
President of the Progresista Party.

APPENDIX E.

[Translation.]

MESSAGE OF THE POPULAR NACIONALISTA LEAGUE OF THE PHILIPPINES.

MANILA, P. I., August 29, 1910.

HON. JACOB M. DICKINSON,

Secretary of War of the United States of North America, Manila, P. I.

HONORABLE SIR: The undersigned, Filipino citizens, who compose the board of directors of the Popular Nacionalista League, a political party which is working by legitimate means to obtain the immediate independence of the Philippines, pray of the Secretary of War of the United States, Hon. Jacob M. Dickinson, that he recommend to the President and the Congress of the United States of North America that these two high powers of the great American Republic concede to us immediate independence, as the only means of making happy the people of the islands, according to the petition made by our Resident Commissioner in the United States, Hon. Manuel Quezon, to the American Congress.

This petition is based on the following reasons:

I.

HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS.

The United States granted immediate independence to the little island of Cuba without any reason or cause other than the historical veneration of the American people for the inalienable rights of any people to obtain for itself its own happiness, and to establish a government derived from the consent of the inhabitants; and, moreover, because the United States has seen the Cuban people struggle resolutely against Spain, sacrificing life and fortune to obtain their independence. Therefore, the Filipino people, who are ten times greater than Cuba in population, territory, and resources, supporting themselves upon the rigorous logic of this altruistic action of America with respect to Cuba, consider themselves entitled to receive from the United States the same generous concession of independence, because the Filipino people, as such people, have the same inalienable rights to obtain for themselves their own happiness, establishing a government derived from the consent of the Filipinos; and, moreover, because the Filipino people also struggled against the same Spain to obtain their independence, with more boldness, perhaps, than Cuba. In view of the fact that they began their struggle for independence without arms other than their bare hands, their bolos, and their faith in the ideal, succeeding, nevertheless, in 1898, in vanquishing the Spaniards in noble conflict, to the point of being able to establish in the capital at Malolos their own independent national government, in the face of all of the squadrons and all of the consuls of the greatest nations of the world, including America, represented by Admiral Dewey, although at a cost, doubtless, of thousands of lives and the blood and fortunes of her most noble sons, as is well known.

II.

ECONOMIC RESOURCES.

According to the census of 1903 of the Philippines (Vol. IV. p. 429), the total value of the property, real and other, of the Filipinos amounted to ₱622,245,719, Philippine currency, which, in imports and exports alone, produced the amount of ₱57,343,808, Philippine currency (Philippine census, p. 16, Vol. IV). The value of exports and imports having increased to, in the fiscal year 1908-9, the enormous sum of ₱70,000,000, according to recent statistics of the Philippine

customs administration, it follows, logically, that the property of the Filipinos has increased to double that of their first value of ₱622,245,719, and, therefore, it is hoped, with all assurance, the increase in the economic resources of the Filipino people will each time be greater; thus assuring an increase of the public taxes such as to satisfy the greatest needs of an independent government.

III.

MORAL AND SOCIAL CONDITION.

The Filipino people loves God above all things, without fanaticism or intolerance, as illustrated by its different religious cults, as carried forward by each church, sect, or confession, amidst the most perfect order. And it also loves its neighbor as itself, as evidenced by the small number of Filipino criminals, which is less than 8 for each 10,000 inhabitants, while in the United States of America the proportion is 13 for each 10,000 inhabitants, according to the census of 1903 (p. 445, Vol. IV).

In this connection we transcribe here below a paragraph from the page and volume of the Philippine census above cited:

"Considering the unstable state of the affairs of the country during the six years preceding the taking of the census, the result is not only favorable, but is extraordinary, and indicates that the Filipinos, as a race, are not particularly inclined to crime."

The diminution of crimes and of criminals in the Philippines is explained by the better pacification of the country, resulting in attracting the people to their habitual love of agricultural, industrial, and commercial labor. This is so certain that in some crimes, banditry, for instance, the criminals are conspicuous by their absence, according to the last criminal statistics published by the worthy attorney general of the islands, Hon. Ignacio Villamor.

The Filipinos are given to labor, and consequently, as lovers of peace and order, they cultivate their rich agricultural lands and promote industry and commerce, in proof of which the increased value of imports and exports is cited. When it is taken into account that, according to the Philippine census (p. 322, Vol. II), the active laborers of a country of 8,000,000 inhabitants count only 1,000,525, and a like number, more or less, of women, it is wonderful that such a small active force should produce annually the fabulous sums above mentioned.

The people of the islands are devoted to the family and the home, than which there are no better pledges for the stability and efficiency of any government where there is also an anxiety for education. They cultivate the sciences and arts devotedly, as evidenced by the 500,000 Filipino youths annually attending the public schools and private institutions here and abroad. They receive with affection all of the material improvements, such as the telegraph, the telephone, the railroads, the electric cars, automobiles, the press, and all classes of useful machinery.

And, lastly, the Filipinos are hospitable and pacific toward the stranger, as you have had occasion to observe during your stay in the Archipelago.

IV.

POLITICAL CAPACITY.

During the 10 years of American occupancy of the islands there have been held five general elections for provincial and municipal offices, and there have been two more for delegates to the Philippine Assembly. During these 10 years there have been some 90,000 Filipinos who have successively filled the various offices in the municipal councils, in the provincial governments, and in the Philippine Assembly in a manner that is certainly very satisfactory, with rare exceptions, because they have maintained public order, avoided insurrection, collected nearly ₱400,000,000 of public taxes, and have cooperated with the judicial, health, public works, and police officials for the best success of the entire civil service of the Philippine government.

If this is not sufficient to demonstrate the full capacity of the Filipino people, then show us the book, the history, or the text in which we can learn the art of politics, because the history, universal and individual, ancient as well as modern, of all the civilized nations, can teach us nothing new or better with respect to the government of the respective peoples than has been put in practice by the Filipino people, as has been shown.

V.

ADMINISTRATIVE CAPACITY.

During the 10 years of American occupation in these islands 7,056 Filipinos, excepting the constabulary and scouts, have held public offices in the judicial, fiscal, and all the different administrative bureaus of these islands, to the entire satisfaction of the American chiefs, as proved by the annual reports of the latter.

But where the administrative capacity of the Filipino shows brightest is in the armed corps of the scouts and the constabulary, in which it is not known whether to admire most their fidelity or their patience, their valor or their discipline, or their activity or their intelligence in the performance of their laborious and difficult duties.

VI.

INHERENT INCOMPATIBILITIES.

The illustrious American and statesman, Mr. Webster, said:

"Gently as the yoke of a foreign government may rest, the happiness of a subject people is impossible."

And so it is, honorable Secretary of War of the United States, for gently, and very gently, as rests the yoke of American Government in these islands, in comparison with that of the past, nevertheless the Filipino people are daily more unhappy, because of the incompatibility of any colonial government to make and give happiness to a subject people.

We offer for your consideration some sad examples which demonstrate our thesis and that of the illustrious American statesman, Mr. Webster, which occurred here in the Philippines during the 10 years of American occupation. But before presenting them, we desire to make it understood that we give them without intent to complain of anyone or to accuse anyone, because our proposition is solely to demonstrate the impossibility of our being happy under the present government of the islands.

FIRST CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

It is well known that when we made peace with the Army of the United States, through the friendly mediation of Hon. William H. Taft, now President of the United States, the Filipinos, notwithstanding having recognized American sovereignty, were yet permitted to use our Filipino flag, not as a symbol of sovereignty and national authority, but as a glorious remembrance of the past and as a symbol of our faith in the ideal and of our hopes in the glorious American flag to obtain our independence. And so we made use of the Filipino flag in our native holidays until August 23, 1907.

But on this date the Philippine government, on the petition of all of the Americans in these islands, enacted the act, No. 1696, prohibiting the use of our beloved Filipino flag and penalizing infringement of the law with fine and imprisonment.

Imagine for a moment, Mr. Secretary, that you had been in the Philippines, as was Admiral Dewey, and authorized by your presence the inauguration and use of the Filipino flag, from June 12, 1898, in the face of the Spaniards and of all of the squadrons of the greatest nations of the world, suppressing it only on the day of the breaking out of hostilities between the Americans and Filipinos.

Imagine for a moment that under the folds of the Filipino flag we fought the Spaniards in 1898, vanquishing them in noble conflict and capturing 9,000 Spanish prisoners, though at the cost of many lives, and the blood and fortunes of many heroic sons of the Philippines.

And imagine, at last, that this Filipino flag, moist with the blood of these heroic martyrs of the country, was the symbol of our dearest ideal, Philippine independence, and then you can understand, with a little impartiality, the great injustice to the Filipino people in prohibiting them from using their beloved symbol.

How is it possible to be happy when the heart is wounded in the most holy and most sacred of its sentiments?

SECOND CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

When our municipal authorities are to receive the Governor General, they have the good taste to do it with bands or orchestras, though not required by law to do so, in order to show their sincere respect, sympathy, and courtesy to the first authority of the islands. And, as is customary, the first notes of salute are those of the American national march and of the Filipino national march, the American march sometimes being played first, and at other times the Filipino. The ceremonial of reception was thus celebrated pacifically during the administrations of Messrs. Taft, Wright, Ide, and Smith.

But the present Governor General, Hon. W. Cameron Forbes, has given verbal orders to the governor of Rizal and to the governor of Batangas, that in future the American march shall always precede the Filipino, and, naturally, this order is another wound inflicted on the heart of the Filipino people, who render homage to their national air with a fervor equal to that which they render to their beloved flag.

THIRD CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

Through the civil-service laws there exists a great difference between the salaries of American and Filipino employees, a difference which may be seen in the following proportion from the report of the Governor General for 1909 in reference to the bureau of civil service:

Officials and employees:

Americans-----	4, 397
Filipinos -----	7, 056

Salaries:

Of 4,397 Americans-----	P8, 696, 962
Of 7,056 Filipinos-----	P4, 018, 988

Average salary:

For each American-----	P3, 225. 63
For each Filipino-----	P914. 03

This difference in pay has been interpreted, and is still interpreted, by the entire country as an unjust lack of consideration for the intelligence and efficiency of the Filipino official or employee. This lack of consideration has continued through the 10 years of American occupation, filling with bitterness and unjustly humiliating the Filipino people.

FOURTH CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

Americanista and anti-Americanista seem to be, for the present government, a sort of joker, to be played at any place and time, as was the case with Español and anti-Español in the time of the Spanish Government.

This thing of Español and anti-Español was the cause of a great deal of ill feeling and discord between the Spaniards and Filipinos, resulting in grave and dangerous consequences for the Filipino people. This history is now being repeated, and there are daily occurrences due to its prejudicial influence, in the street cars, in the public streets and places, and in all private and official transactions, so that it now constitutes an injury to both people. Thus, a Filipino Nationalist is an anti-American, and should therefore be treated with contumely and repugnance.

When it is remembered that the Nationalists constitute the majority of the people, then the suffering and pain caused the ear of the Filipino people by this fourth case of incompatibility will be understood.

FIFTH CASE OF INCOMPATIBILITY.

To the lack of equilibrium which exists, and which has existed always since American occupation between the total public taxation, P42,000,000, and the legal circulation, P40,337,982.04 (fiscal year 1908-9), is due the fact that usury reigns in the economic life of the country, and this never happened during the time of Spanish government. Then the taxes amounted to P13,000,000, though in the last years of the war of insurrection they increased to P17,000,000, while the legal money, Mexican, circulated without limit, due to contraband, resulting in low rates of interest to the benefit of all.

This usury now reaches to from 60 to 100 per cent per annum, and there is no remedy for it but to succumb, because the payments for taxes and economic necessities are peremptory.

We understand that as it was inherent under the Spanish Government to levy small taxes and to take small interest in public improvements, so it is inherent in the American Government to appropriate large amounts regardless of our strength, through its vehement desire to give us quickly all of the public improvements.

But we see clearly that both Governments act without consideration of the just interests of the Filipino people. From this we deduce that no foreign government is capable of conducting the Filipino people to peace and prosperity.

All of the rules of political economy are subordinated to the resources, customs, and habits of a people. If, for example, the production of beer, whisky, tobacco, and sugar were not favored in the United States, and as result thereof the American people had to import these articles from abroad, it is clear that the American people would be rendered economically unfortunate.

And so it is in the Philippines. Spanish genius left us in abandon, and we were poor. American genius puts us in constant action, but to an extent much greater than our resources, strength, and energy will permit, and as a result we lack little, economically speaking, of being isolated.

A proof of this statement is the great increase in the number of usurers established on each street of this city, while in the times of the Spanish Government there were scarcely a half dozen.

There is another example we could cite here, but with a regard for brevity, and in order not to further take your time we omit other citations, and close this message, repeating the prayer that for all of the reasons related you deign to recommend to the President of the great American Republic, that he may in turn transmit the recommendation to Congress and to the Senate of the United States, that immediate independence be conceded to us, as the only right and natural means of bringing about our happiness, as was requested of the American Congress by our Resident Commissioner in the United States, Hon. Manuel L. Quezon.

Very respectfully,

B. Bustamante, President; Luciano de la Rosa, First Vice-President;
A. L. Escamilla, Secretary; Hermenegildo Cruz, Subsecretary; Leandro Claro, Treasurer; Timoteo Paez, G. Marankay, Cayto. Arguelles,
H. Reyes, Members.

APPENDIX F.

LETTER OF HON. MANUEL QUEZON.

MANILA, *September 1, 1910.*

MR. SECRETARY: In compliance with your request made in a personal conversation with the undersigned, I have the honor hereby to express to you the opinion of the Filipinos on the friar-lands question.

Of these, there are lands that are occupied by tenants and others that are not. It is the opinion of my people that those occupied by tenants should be, as soon as possible, sold to the tenants—irrespective of the size of the lands or parcels thereof so occupied—even though the government should incur some losses by the speedy disposal of such lands. The reason for this is that the purpose of the government in buying these lands from the friars was precisely to settle the serious problem arisen in these islands by the tenants of those lands through sale of said lands to their tenants.

With regard to the unoccupied lands, it is the opinion of the Filipinos that they should be disposed of subject to the same limitations imposed by law on public lands. The reason for this is the same that the Filipinos have in objecting to the sale of public lands in large areas. It is evident that the Filipinos, in so far as the friar-lands question is concerned, do not give any consideration to the business point of view of the matter, but only to the social and political ones. There are at present no people in this country that are either very wealthy or beggar; the wealth of the country is divided among the people, and this is considered by the Filipinos as the guaranty for the conservatism of this community.

Politically, it is the firm belief of the Filipinos that the ownership of large tracts of lands by foreigners constitutes a menace to the independence, both political and economical, of the archipelago.

The foregoing opinion has been expressed and entertained by all Filipino papers, irrespective of their party affiliation, all of which unanimously declared themselves against the government's policy in the sale of the Mindoro estate, and I know, from what I have heard from other sources, that the opinion so expressed by the papers is entirely in accord with the opinion of the people in general.

Most respectfully,

MANUEL QUEZON,

Resident Commissioner to the United States for the Philippines.

THE SECRETARY OF WAR OF THE UNITED STATES.

Manila, P. I.

APPENDIX G.

STATEMENT OF AMERICAN AND FILIPINO EMPLOYEES. UNDER THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Bureau or service.	Year.	Amer- ican.	Filipino.	Oth- ers.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						Amer- ican.	Fili- pino.	Oth- ers.
Executive bureau.....	1903	50	53	2	105	48.0	50.0	2.0
	1904	51	76	1	128	40.0	59.0	1.0
	1905	46	84	1	131	35.0	64.0	1.0
	1906	49	106	1	156	31.0	68.0	1.0
	1907	43	116	2	161	27.0	72.0	1.0
	1908	37	100	3	140	26.0	72.0	2.0
	1909	35	115	2	152	23.0	76.0	1.0
	1910	32	110	2	144	22.0	77.0	1.0
	1903	86	238	.....	324	27.0	73.0	.....
	1904	87	143	.....	230	38.0	62.0	.....
Provincial service.....	1905	80	246	.....	326	25.0	75.0	.....
	1906	60	183	.....	243	25.0	75.0	.....
	1907	50	96	.....	146	34.0	66.0	.....
	1908	49	101	.....	150	33.0	67.0	.....
	1909	47	102	.....	149	32.0	68.0	.....
	1910	39	101	.....	140	28.0	72.0	.....
	1903	24	14,098	.....	14,122	.2	99.8	.....
	1904	44	11,289	.....	11,333	.4	99.6	.....
	1905	58	10,725	.....	10,783	.5	99.5	.....
	1906	68	10,774	.....	10,842	.6	99.4	.....
Municipal service.....	1907	88	11,350	.....	11,438	.8	99.2	.....
	1908	82	11,760	.....	11,842	.7	99.3	.....
	1909	81	12,275	.....	12,356	.7	99.3	.....
	1910	102	12,417	.....	12,519	.8	99.2	.....
	1904	61	27	.....	88	69.0	31.0	.....
	1905	56	41	.....	97	58.0	42.0	.....
	1906	68	54	.....	122	56.0	44.0	.....
	1907	69	61	.....	130	53.0	47.0	.....
	1908	66	78	.....	144	45.0	55.0	.....
	1909	64	103	1	168	38.0	61.3	.7
Bureau of audits.....	1910	60	135	1	196	30.5	69.0	.5
	1903	11	8	.....	19	58.0	42.0	.....
	1904	20	14	.....	34	59.0	41.0	.....
	1905	16	19	.....	35	46.0	54.0	.....
	1906	11	18	.....	29	38.0	62.0	.....
	1907	11	19	.....	30	37.0	63.0	.....
	1908	10	17	.....	27	37.0	63.0	.....
	1909	11	23	.....	34	32.0	68.0	.....
	1910	10	25	.....	35	29.0	71.0	.....
	1903	739	3,439	.....	4,178	18.0	82.0	.....
Bureau of civil service.....	1904	843	4,013	.....	4,856	17.0	83.0	.....
	1905	826	3,675	.....	4,501	18.0	82.0	.....
	1906	720	5,245	.....	5,965	12.0	88.0	.....
	1907	505	5,166	.....	5,671	9.0	91.0	.....
	1908	463	3,521	.....	3,984	12.0	88.0	.....
	1909	522	4,993	.....	5,515	10.0	90.0	.....
	1910	468	3,908	.....	4,376	11.0	89.0	.....
	1903	739	3,439	.....	4,178	18.0	82.0	.....
	1904	843	4,013	.....	4,856	17.0	83.0	.....
	1905	826	3,675	.....	4,501	18.0	82.0	.....
City of Manila.....	1906	720	5,245	.....	5,965	12.0	88.0	.....
	1907	505	5,166	.....	5,671	9.0	91.0	.....
	1908	463	3,521	.....	3,984	12.0	88.0	.....
	1909	522	4,993	.....	5,515	10.0	90.0	.....
	1910	468	3,908	.....	4,376	11.0	89.0	.....

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND POLICE.

Bureau of constabulary:								
Officers.....	1903	205	66	.....	271	76.0	24.0	.....
	1904	261	73	.....	334	78.0	22.0	.....
	1905	269	71	.....	340	79.0	21.0	.....
	1906	247	66	.....	313	79.0	21.0	.....
	1907	253	68	.....	321	79.0	21.0	.....
	1908	248	74	.....	322	77.0	23.0	.....
	1909	246	67	.....	313	78.0	22.0	.....
	1910	254	64	.....	318	80.0	20.0	.....

Statement of American and Filipino employees—Continued.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE AND POLICE—Continued.

Bureau or service.	Year.	Amer- ican.	Filipino.	Oth- ers.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						Amer- ican.	Fili- pino.	Oth- ers.
Bureau of constabulary—Contd.								
Employees.....	1903	23	70	.....	93	26.0	74.0	.....
	1904	48	60	.....	108	45.0	55.0	.....
	1905	56	165	.....	221	25.0	75.0	.....
	1906	68	88	.....	156	44.0	56.0	.....
	1907	23	61	.....	84	27.0	73.0	.....
	1908	22	59	.....	81	27.0	73.0	.....
	1909	24	60	.....	84	29.0	71.0	.....
	1910	21	61	.....	82	26.0	74.0	.....
Enlisted men.....	1903	.....	6,264	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1904	.....	6,683	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1905	.....	6,799	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1906	.....	4,800	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1907	.....	4,788	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1908	.....	4,622	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1909	.....	4,624	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
	1910	.....	4,256	.....	.....	.....	100.0	.....
Bureau of public works.....	1903	3	.....	.....	3	.....	100.0	.....
	1904	54	15	.....	69	78.0	22.0	.....
	1905	49	26	.....	75	65.0	35.0	.....
	1906	83	60	.....	143	42.0	58.0	.....
	1907	100	84	.....	184	54.0	46.0	.....
	1908	155	117	.....	272	57.0	43.0	.....
	1909	381	479	.....	860	44.0	56.0	.....
	1910	456	715	.....	1,171	39.0	61.0	.....
Bureau of navigation.....	1903	120	1,152	93	1,365	8.7	84.3	7.0
	1904	178	1,534	166	1,878	9.4	81.7	8.8
	1905	159	1,518	136	1,813	8.7	83.7	7.6
	1906	137	1,461	202	1,800	7.6	81.1	11.3
	1907	150	1,569	140	1,859	8.0	84.4	7.6
	1908	141	1,467	158	1,766	8.0	83.0	9.0
	1909	151	1,594	237	1,982	7.8	80.4	11.8
	1910	182	2,141	296	2,619	6.9	82.5	11.6
Bureau of posts.....	1903	234	137	1	372	62.9	36.8	.3
	1904	197	379	1	577	34.1	65.7	.2
	1905	156	453	3	612	25.5	74.1	.4
	1906	223	777	3	1,003	22.2	77.5	.3
	1907	210	878	3	1,091	19.2	80.5	.3
	1908	237	1,125	3	1,365	17.4	82.4	.2
	1909	201	1,164	2	1,367	14.7	85.1	.2
	1910	191	1,377	1	1,569	12.2	87.79	.01
Bureau of coast surveys.....	1903	19	208	.....	227	8.0	92.0	.....
	1904	19	215	.....	234	8.0	92.0	.....
	1905	25	266	.....	291	9.0	91.0	.....
	1906	35	265	.....	300	12.0	88.0	.....
	1907	44	274	.....	318	14.0	86.0	.....
	1908	49	275	.....	324	15.0	85.0	.....
	1909	49	278	.....	327	15.0	85.0	.....
	1910	47	255	.....	302	16.0	84.0	.....
Bureau of labor.....	1910	.....	17	.....	17	.....	100.0	.....
Consulting architect.....	1906	2	5	.....	7	28.6	71.4	.....
	1907	5	14	.....	19	26.3	73.7	.....
	1908	8	12	.....	20	40.0	60.0	.....
	1909	8	13	.....	21	38.0	62.0	.....
	1910	14	15	.....	29	48.3	51.7	.....
Supervising railway expert.....	1907	6	4	.....	10	60.0	40.0	.....
	1908	5	1	.....	6	83.3	16.7	.....
	1909	3	1	.....	4	75.0	25.0	.....
	1910	3	1	.....	4	75.0	25.0	.....

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE AND JUSTICE.

Bureau of the treasury.....	1903	27	9	.....	36	75.0	25.0	.....
	1904	44	11	.....	55	80.0	20.0	.....
	1905	42	16	.....	58	72.0	28.0	.....
	1906	23	22	.....	45	51.0	49.0	.....
	1907	24	24	.....	48	50.0	50.0	.....
	1908	21	19	.....	40	53.0	47.0	.....
	1909	19	21	.....	40	47.0	53.0	.....
	1910	19	21	.....	40	47.0	53.0	.....
Bureau of internal revenue.....	1903	26	122	.....	148	18.0	82.0	.....
	1904	36	133	.....	169	21.0	79.0	.....
	1905	72	176	.....	248	29.0	71.0	.....
	1906	72	241	.....	313	23.0	77.0	.....
	1907	89	308	.....	397	22.0	78.0	.....
	1908	89	336	.....	425	21.0	79.0	.....
	1909	83	343	.....	426	19.0	81.0	.....
	1910	84	331	.....	415	20.0	80.0	.....

Statement of American and Filipino employees—Continued.

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE AND JUSTICE—Continued.

Bureau or service	Year.	Amer- ican.	Filipino.	Oth- ers.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						Amer- ican.	Fili- pino.	Oth- ers.
Bureau of customs.....	1904	278	733	13	1,024	27.0	72.0	1.0
	1905	241	716	12	969	25.0	74.0	1.0
	1906	221	553	13	787	28.0	70.0	2.0
	1907	173	537	13	723	24.0	74.0	2.0
	1908	150	533	12	695	21.0	77.0	2.0
	1909	146	522	11	679	21.0	77.0	2.0
	1910	136	532	11	679	20.0	78.0	2.0
Court of land registration.....	1904	3	10	.....	13	24.0	76.0	.....
	1905	7	35	.....	42	17.0	83.0	.....
	1906	7	38	.....	45	16.0	84.0	.....
	1907	9	47	.....	56	16.0	84.0	.....
	1908	7	52	.....	59	12.0	88.0	.....
	1909	6	65	.....	71	8.5	91.5	.....
	1910	6	81	.....	87	7.0	93.0	.....
Supreme court.....	1903	4	16	1	21	19.0	76.0	5.0
	1904	4	16	1	21	19.0	76.0	5.0
	1905	2	16	1	19	10.0	85.0	5.0
	1906	4	17	1	22	18.0	77.0	5.0
	1907	3	21	2	26	11.0	81.0	8.0
	1908	3	23	2	28	10.0	83.0	7.0
	1909	4	23	2	29	14.0	79.0	7.0
	1910	3	25	2	30	10.0	83.0	7.0
Bureau of justice.....	1903	21	13	.....	34	62.0	38.0	.....
	1904	23	13	.....	36	64.0	36.0	.....
	1905	21	15	.....	36	58.0	42.0	.....
	1906	20	17	.....	37	54.0	46.0	.....
	1907	16	23	.....	39	42.0	58.0	.....
	1908	13	25	.....	38	34.0	66.0	.....
	1909	15	28	.....	43	35.0	65.0	.....
	1910	12	30	.....	42	29.0	71.0	.....

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Bureau of agriculture.....	1903	24	181	.....	205	12.0	88.0	.....
	1904	22	274	.....	296	7.0	93.0	.....
	1905	20	359	.....	379	5.0	95.0	.....
	1906	33	231	.....	264	13.0	87.0	.....
	1907	38	289	.....	327	12.0	88.0	.....
	1908	50	335	2	387	13.0	87.0	.....
	1909	66	322	5	393	17.0	82.0	1.0
	1910	96	670	5	771	12.0	87.0	1.0
Bureau of education.....	1904	761	3,658	.....	4,419	17.22	82.78	.....
	1905	893	4,587	.....	5,480	16.30	83.70	.....
	1906	801	4,849	.....	5,650	14.18	85.82	.....
	1907	784	6,271	.....	7,055	11.11	88.89	.....
	1908	760	6,962	.....	7,722	9.84	90.16	.....
	1909	863	7,698	.....	8,561	10.08	89.92	.....
	1910	770	8,620	.....	9,390	8.52	91.48	.....
Bureau of printing.....	1904	58	218	5	281	20.64	77.58	1.78
	1905	47	241	6	294	15.98	81.97	2.05
	1906	40	253	3	296	13.51	85.47	1.02
	1907	33	257	3	293	11.26	87.71	1.03
	1908	30	318	3	351	8.54	90.59	.87
	1909	27	285	3	315	8.57	90.50	.93
	1910	27	318	3	348	7.76	91.38	.86
Bureau of prisons.....	1903	33	59	.....	92	35.87	54.13	.....
	1904	50	63	.....	113	44.25	55.75	.....
	1905	63	84	.....	147	42.86	57.14	.....
	1906	62	104	.....	166	37.35	62.65	.....
	1907	67	109	.....	176	38.07	61.93	.....
	1908	68	117	2	187	36.36	62.56	1.08
	1909	64	117	2	183	34.97	63.93	1.10
	1910	70	124	2	196	35.71	63.26	1.03
Bureau of supply.....	1903	183	960	4	1,147	16.0	83.7	.3
	1904	174	804	2	980	17.7	82.0	.3
	1905	131	378	2	511	25.6	74.0	.4
	1906	92	359	3	454	20.3	79.0	.7
	1907	98	370	3	471	20.8	78.5	.7
	1908	85	419	2	506	16.8	82.8	.4
	1909	81	390	2	473	17.3	82.4	.3
	1910	90	466	2	558	16.1	83.5	.4
Philippines library.....	1910	1	1	.....	2	50.0	50.0	.....
Philippine medical school.....	1907	15	24	1	40	37.5	60.0	2.5
	1908	39	28	.....	46	39.0	61.0	.....
	1909	18	32	1	51	35.0	63.0	2.0
	1910	24	37	2	63	38.1	58.7	3.2

Statement of American and Filipino employees—Continued.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION—Continued.

Bureau or service.	Year.	Amer- ican.	Filipino.	Oth- ers.	Total.	Percentage of—		
						Amer- ican.	Fili- pino.	Oth- ers.
University of the Philippines.....	1909	4	2	1	7	57.0	29.0	14.0
	1910	13	21	2	36	36.0	58.0	6.0
Circulating library.....	1910	6	12	.....	18	33.3	66.7	.....

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

Bureau of health.....	1904	164	169	5	338	48.5	50.0	1.5
	1905	138	145	8	291	47.4	49.8	2.8
	1906	149	352	8	509	29.3	69.1	1.6
	1907	92	409	9	510	18.0	80.2	1.8
	1908	96	509	6	611	15.7	83.3	1.0
	1909	138	555	7	700	19.7	79.3	1.0
	1910	98	590	7	695	14.1	84.9	1.0
Quarantine service.....	1903	16	60	2	78	20.0	77.0	3.0
	1904	18	65	2	85	21.0	77.0	2.0
	1905	17	65	2	84	20.0	78.0	2.0
	1906	14	64	2	80	18.0	80.0	2.0
	1907	15	63	2	80	19.0	79.0	2.0
	1908	12	65	2	79	15.0	82.0	3.0
	1909	12	64	2	78	15.0	82.0	3.0
	1910	11	63	3	77	14.0	82.0	4.0
Bureau of lands.....	1904	10	5	.....	15	67.0	33.0	.....
	1905	9	5	.....	14	65.0	35.0	.....
	1906	44	35	3	82	54.0	43.0	3.0
	1907	79	48	5	132	60.0	38.0	4.0
	1908	90	93	11	194	46.0	48.0	6.0
	1909	115	164	15	294	39.0	56.0	5.0
	1910	122	234	10	366	33.0	64.0	3.0
Bureau of forestry.....	1903	33	104	1	138	24.0	75.0	1.0
	1904	36	145	1	182	19.0	80.5	.5
	1905	21	115	1	137	15.0	84.0	1.0
	1906	15	38	1	54	28.0	70.0	2.0
	1907	12	25	1	38	32.0	65.0	3.0
	1908	12	24	1	37	32.0	65.0	3.0
	1909	15	22	1	38	39.0	58.0	3.0
	1910	16	32	1	49	33.0	65.0	2.0
Weather bureau.....	1903	2	78	6	86	2.0	91.0	7.0
	1904	5	74	4	83	6.0	89.0	5.0
	1905	5	79	6	90	6.0	88.0	6.0
	1906	4	73	6	83	5.0	88.0	7.0
	1907	3	79	7	89	3.0	89.0	8.0
	1908	2	78	8	88	2.0	89.0	9.0
	1909	2	80	8	90	2.0	89.0	9.0
	1910	2	91	6	99	2.0	92.0	6.0
Bureau of science.....	1903	25	36	.....	61	41.0	59.0	.....
	1904	39	55	1	95	41.0	58.0	1.0
	1905	38	64	1	103	37.0	62.0	1.0
	1906	47	80	3	130	36.0	62.0	2.0
	1907	41	78	4	123	33.0	64.0	3.0
	1908	38	88	5	131	29.0	67.0	4.0
	1909	46	92	11	149	31.0	62.0	7.0
	1910	44	115	6	165	27.0	70.0	3.0

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LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



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